

(MORE)

A Journalism Review

**J. Anthony Lukas:
Reader's Digest**

**David Halberstam:
Mert Perry and Newsweek**

**Charlotte Curtis: Harper's
Paul Cowan, George Reedy**

Playing the Nixon P.O.W. Game

BY STUART H. LOORY

On January 17, four U.S. Air Force jets flew over the Super Bowl in Miami and while 80,000 spectators—and, not incidentally, 60 million television viewers—paused in reverential silence, one jet soared away to symbolize Americans missing or captured in Southeast Asia. "I was on the phone with the White House for five days ironing out the details," recalls Robert Cochran, who handles television promotion for the National Football League. Eleven weeks later, on April 5, Master Sgt. Daniel L. Fitzer, who spent four years as a prisoner of war in Vietnam, appeared at Robert F. Kennedy Stadium in Washington to throw out the first ball of the 1971 baseball season in place of President Nixon, who observed that "no president has been better represented than I am today." That sports fan Richard M. Nixon would so exploit the prisoner-of-war issue is hardly surprising. What is surprising, however, is that the press has so eagerly cooperated with what from its inception has been a carefully-planned, well-orchestrated Administration public relations campaign. Indeed, with a few exceptions, the press has seemed like a rookie caught off second base or a green cornerback faked out of his shoes by a shifty halfback.

Ever since Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird opted "to go public" in 1969, Administration officials have used every opportunity to push the notion that the North Vietnamese cruelly mistreat American prisoners. Besides drumming up sympathy in the sports arena, they have sent speakers into all corners of the country and triggered large-scale letter-writing campaigns to Hanoi by such organizations as the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Red Cross. In the Pentagon, some dozen officers work on the matter full-time under the general direction of Roger Shields, special assistant in the Office of International Security Affairs. At the Department of State, Frank A. Sieverts, another special assistant, presides over a two-man desk devoted almost exclusively to the POW issue. "The *Times* calls me all the time," says Sieverts.

Not to ask many tough questions, it would seem. Consider, for example, the newspaper's handling of President Nixon's answer to a question put to him by Otis Chandler, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, during a panel at the American Society of Newspaper Editors meeting in April. "Well, Mr. Chandler," the President said, "as you know, we have had some pretty bitter experiences with some Communist nations with regard to American prisoners. And we have had a very difficult experience with the North Vietnamese, who have, without question, been the most barbaric in their handling of prisoners of any nation in modern history." The president went on to allow as how he would continue to bomb those hateful barbarians until they yielded up our prisoners. "We have some cards to play, too," he told his black-tie audience, "and we are going to play them right to the hilt where the prisoners are concerned."



June 1971

75¢

The *Times* made this its lead story on April 17, topping it with a headline that read: "NIXON BARS HALT/IN RAIDS TILL FOE/FREES ALL P.O.W.'S." In the sixth paragraph, the *Times* reported that the President "charged that the North Vietnamese 'without question have been the most barbaric in the handling of prisoners of any nation in history'." In vain I read the story for some background on the charge—some analysis, some interpretation. It was late Friday night, of course, and the President was talking on deadline. Sunday, perhaps, the *Times* would produce a backgrounder. I waited. As I write this, eleven days later, I am still waiting.

Now you may argue that Mr. Nixon's statement was so patently without foundation, considering what we know of the way North Koreans, Nazis, Japanese, Russians and even South Vietnamese have treated prisoners of war in modern history, that it needs no analysis. I cannot buy that argument. It is becoming more and more apparent that the POW issue is going to be used to either prolong the war or shorten it, depending on which side has the upper hand at any given time when negotiations might otherwise begin. The POW issue is no longer simply a humanitarian matter. It is a political matter of the gravest import and like any political matter—the need for raising or lowering taxes, the ramifications of revenue sharing, the drug problem or the invasion of Laos and Cambodia—it needs the most comprehensive reporting and dispassionate analysis. When President Nixon accused the North Vietnamese of barbarism he implicitly accused them of violating the Geneva Convention of 1949 on treatment of prisoners of war. The administration has explicitly made that charge before. Yet, how many newspapers, magazines, television or radio stations have bothered to look into the matter of just what the Geneva Convention provides? Such an inquiry would show that far from barbaric treatment, the North Vietnamese, by one interpretation of the Geneva Convention (to which those barbarians are signatory), are observing it in letter and spirit.

The Geneva Convention recognizes two types of warfare—"international conflicts" and those "not of an international character" (read "civil war"). If you accept the idea, as Dr. Henry A. Kissinger once did, that the Vietnam War is basically a civil war into which the United States has intruded, then North Vietnam has been living up to Article 3 of the Geneva Convention which is nothing more than a declaration of the minimum rights of all captives. Article 3 outlaws murder, torture, taking of hostages, degrading treatment, trials without due process, and the discrimination on account of race, religion, sex, class or economic status. The Administration has charged—and the press has dutifully reported—that the North Vietnamese have not allowed regular mail flow between prisoners and families, have not disclosed the location (continued on page 20)

[MORE]

Editor: Richard Pollak
 Publisher: William Woodward III
 Designer: Samuel N. Antupit

Advisory committee for this issue: Paul Cowan, Ernest Dunbar, Pamela Howard, J. Anthony Lukas, A. Kent MacDougall, Calvin Trillin, Mike Wallace.

Traditionally, a new publication is launched with a Ringing Declaration of Purpose. The trouble with such noble manifestoes, however, is that you then have to live up to them. This often proves exceedingly difficult. Despite your best intentions, little old ladies from Dubuque do pick up your magazine. Or some newspaper editor (or even publisher) momentarily forgets the marble admonition in the lobby and gives the news partially with both fear and favor. Not surprisingly, this causes a certain embarrassment. But worse, it turns out to be quite costly as well. For, having fallen short of your R.D.P., you are forced to keep up appearances by noting your achievements in large, expensive advertisements on the back page of the *Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*. With luck, these advertisements will persuade your readers that at least you are doing something worthwhile. But then there's your staff. They're a pretty savvy bunch and they really know how far you are from the old R.D.P. So to bolster their morale, you have to give them air travel cards and thousands of pencils reminding them that they work for the world's most quoted newsweekly. Obviously, our budget will never be able to support such extravagances, so we have reluctantly put aside our own Ringing Declaration of Purpose (and a clarion call it was, too) in favor of a sentence or two on what we hope to accomplish. Our goal is to cover the New York area press—by which we mean newspapers, magazines, radio and television—with the kind of tough-mindedness we think the press should but seldom does apply to its coverage of the world. We hope to do this seriously but not without wit, fairly but not "objectively." Many of our contributors (though by no means all) will be working journalists in the city and we hope that their employers will have the common sense to recognize that a journalist ought to be free to write about his profession without feeling his job is in jeopardy. For our part, we recognize the conflict of interest in asking a journalist to write about his own organization and consequently have established an ironclad policy never to commission or publish such articles. Beyond that, we would like to apologize for being so tardy. In that nether region west of the Hudson that the local press is so fond of disdaining, journalism reviews already exist in Philadelphia, St. Louis, Denver, Honolulu and Chicago. The *Chicago Journalism Review* in particular has made that city a better place for journalists to work and by following their example we hope to do the same in New York.

[CONTENTS]

- 1 **Playing the Nixon P.O.W. Game**
by Stuart H. Loory
- 3 **Life in These United States**
by J. Anthony Lukas
- 5 **Moynihan's Scholarly Tantrum**
by George E. Reedy
- 7 **Slicking Over the Oil Industry**
by Paul Cowan
- 9 **Reflections on a Professional**
by David Halberstam
- 11 **An Adventure in "the Big Cave"**
by Charlotte Curtis
- 14 **Battling the Myths in Chicago**
by Ron Dorfman

(MORE) Volume 1, Number 1 is published by Rosebud Associates, Inc. Subscription rates: 1 year, \$7.50; 2 years, \$14.00; 3 years, \$19.00. Subscription blanks appear on the back page. All subscription and other mail should be addressed to:

P.O. Box 2971
 Grand Central Station
 New York, N.Y. 10017

Copyright © 1971 by Rosebud Associates, Inc. Nothing in this publication may be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without specific written permission from the publisher. All rights reserved.

[HELLBOX]

Rosebuds to Peter Goldman, senior editor, and Don Holt, Chicago bureau chief, for "How Justice Works: The People vs. Donald Payne," a vivid reconstruction of the case of an 18-year-old Chicago felon that provided a telling indictment in microcosm of the nation's criminal justice system (*Newsweek*, March 8) . . . to Peter Davis, writer; Dena Levitt, film editor; Helen Moed and James Branon, researchers, who were the principal forces behind "The Selling of the Pentagon," a long overdue examination of military public relations that left the hopeful impression that something of Edward R. Murrow's influence may remain after all (CBS-TV, Feb. 23 and March 23) . . . to Sandra Blakeslee for her lengthy portrait of the San Andreas fault and of the Californians living along it, most of whom "have simply blocked out of their minds the apocalyptic possibility that the sturdy earth beneath their feet might give way at any minute of any hour of any day." (*Times*, April 29) . . . to Gail Sheehy for "The Putnam County Witch Trial," a biting account of the travail of teacher Kathleen Marcato, who was dismissed from Mahopac Falls Elementary School for daring to display at Christmastime the poster that allows "War is not healthy for children and other living things." (*New York*, May 3) . . . to Neil Sheehan for his essay-review of 33 books dealing with alleged U.S. war crimes, books he said made him realize for the first time the true nature of the events he covered as a correspondent in Vietnam (*Times Sunday Book Review*, March 28).

[MORE]

Homer Bigart, perhaps the *Times*' most respected reporter, tried to make an important point in the story he filed from Fort Benning March 29 on the conviction of First Lieut. William L. Calley, Jr. Some editor ruled him out of line, however. On the left below are the two paragraphs in question as Bigart wrote them and as they appeared in the version of his story sent out by the *Times* news service. On the right is the passage as edited for the *Times*:

"Although he had just been found guilty of 22 murders, Calley was treated far more gently than was Army doctor Captain Howard B. Levy four years ago after receiving a sentence for refusing to give medical training to Green Berets on the grounds that the training would be used unlawfully in Vietnam.

"Unlike Levy, Calley was not handcuffed and left the court unfettered. An officer explained: 'His conduct has been exemplary throughout and he'll continue to be treated as an officer.'"

"Lieutenant Calley was not handcuffed when driven to the stockade."

Bigart, who is 63 years old and retires next year after 17 years on the *Times* and 45 years as a journalist (during which he twice won the Pulitzer Prize), accepts the editing with the resignation of a man who has been mangled many times before. "I never read my stories in the paper any more," he says. "It's a safe way to avoid ulcers. You can't win. You finally come to the point where you either have to take it or quit. People have tried to fight back, but they get nowhere. You can't beat a newspaper bureaucracy any more than you can beat any other kind of bureaucracy."

[MORE]

The Ringling Brothers troupe made its annual appearance at Madison Square Garden recently and, as A.J. Liebling was fond of pointing out, circus-time in New York always coincides with the convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. "Like the Big Show," he wrote, "the convention always bears a certain basic resemblance to its predecessors. The New York publishers, through their editorial-page hirelings, welcome their country cousins, usually referred to as 'the newspaper clan' or 'the press family,' and acclaim them as uniformly astute fellows, with their ears to the grass roots beneath every paved street from San Diego, California, to Bangor, Maine, and their fingers on the pulse of the nation. Reporters then go out and ask the finger-men what the pulse says, and the publishers predict a year of unexampled prosperity, accompanied by high costs that preclude a rise in wages."

No publishers were predicting unexampled prosperity at this April's gathering, but the A.N.P.A. did report that despite the recession the newspaper business was doing quite well and that "modest but steady growth" could be expected if only the unions would stop seeking "wage settlements far in excess of any warranted equitable cost-of-living make-whole adjustments." These observations were dutifully recorded in the first three paragraphs of the story the *Times* ran on the first day of the convention, a story awash in upbeat statistics carefully culled from A.N.P.A. propaganda. (Continued on page 23)

Life in These United States

BY J. ANTHONY LUKAS

"A high school boy, doing a report, called the Ford Motor Company and asked a secretary, 'Does your company contribute to pollution?'"

"I'm not sure," she replied, "but we do give to the United Fund."

This homespun two-liner, which appeared in a recent issue of the *Reader's Digest*, is about what one has come to expect from the *Digest* on the issue of corporate responsibility for environmental woes. Over the years, the *Digest* has shown a continuing interest in conservation matters, but its articles are usually phrased in broad generalities and rarely point the finger at any single industry or company for polluting the environment. A good example of the *Digest's* approach is an article of which it is particularly proud—James Nathan Miller's "America the (Formerly) Beautiful" which appeared in the February, 1969, issue. The article described "how we, the American people, are ruining the landscape and destroying natural resources at a dangerously accelerating rate." It then went on to name "the two main villains" responsible for this state of affairs, "the incredible growth of the United States population" and "government agencies assigned to manage our resources." Industries—the major polluters—were mentioned only incidentally and no offending companies were named.

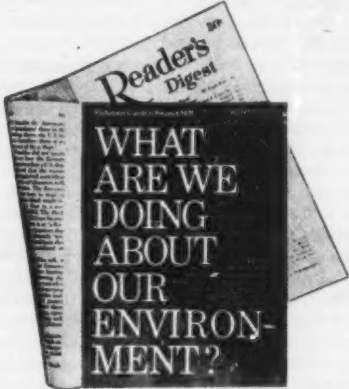
Perhaps it is unrealistic to expect hardnosed, investigative reporting from a magazine which brings us such journalism as "Behind the Boom in Tropical Fish," "New Look in Stamp Collecting," "Tips for a Safer Summer," "Teach Your Child to Behave Morally" and "The Charisma of Billy Graham." But nothing the *Digest* has done or failed to do in recent years may quite have prepared us for "Environment '71." In a press release announcing the project last fall—echoed in major advertisements in *The Wall Street Journal*, *Saturday Review*, *Advertising Age*, *Public Relations Journal*, *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Fortune*—the *Digest* called it "the first total communications program designed to tell the nation and the world what American business is doing to solve pollution problems." The magazine said its own specially-commissioned studies showed a pressing need to deal with the question in "a major educational way now" and Environment '71 was designed to "tackle all phases of this large, complex and urgent problem."

Actually, this massive "educational" communications program is little more than a very expensive and elaborate advertising supplement—scheduled to appear in the *Digest's* September 1971 issue—in which American industry can buy space to counteract mounting public concern and protest about environmental pollution. For \$59,965—the magazine's regular rate—a company could buy a four-color page (a second page came at the marked down rate of \$47,970 and a third page at \$24,655).

In a promotional landslide, the *Digest* argued that this was a public relations opportunity which companies couldn't afford to pass up. As prime evidence, it presented the results of its two public opinion surveys. The first, conducted for the *Digest* by National Family Opinion, Inc., showed that 52 per cent of those questioned considered pollution the most or second most important domestic problem; that 72 per cent of the respondents placed much of the blame on private industry; and that the public was "largely unaware of what companies are doing against pollution." Almost half of the respondents rated the job being done by industry as "poor" or "very poor." Only twelve per cent gave private industry good marks. No industry was rated well. The second study, conducted for the *Digest* in six major metropolitan areas by Trendex Inc., revealed much the same kind of reaction. "Environmental pollution is clearly giving all of business a black eye in the view of most Americans," the *Digest* concluded.

Not surprisingly, the *Digest* made clear that it felt such a reputation was undeserved. In a slide talk developed for selling corporation executives on "environment '71," it described the tendency to blame pollution on business as "an alarming trend in public opinion." On the one hand, it noted, "organized pressure for environmental clean-up is growing more intensive from scores of conservation and ecology groups and the issue is sweeping our campuses at both student and faculty levels." But it said the American business community had made no concerted effort to "educate" the American public about what it was doing. Most of the public relations in this area, it said, has been "traditional corporate advertising," one industry talking to another. "The important and exciting story of the more than \$1 billion-plus, and countless man hours, spent by U.S. companies to fight pollution just last year is simply not known by the majority of people," the *Digest* concluded: "There is a massive educational job to be done. A vast audience to reach. It takes a magazine with the reach of *Reader's Digest* to influence all segments of the public that are now important to your corporate advertising effort."

In its promotion, the *Digest* promised two distinct "audiences" for the supplement. The first, of course, was the 17,750,000 families who read the *Digest* monthly, nearly one out of every three families in the country. But, in addition, the *Digest* promised to extend the corporate message to a whole "second audience." To this end, it would pay for 100,000 complete, four-color sections in booklet form (or 60,000 four-page custom folders) for each participating advertiser to distribute as it wished. The *Digest* also promised to send out a special mailing of the section to more than 20,000 "key people in local, state and federal government, business, education, science, architecture, ecology groups, campus and student groups" with a letter from the publisher asking for comment (58 copies to go to the President, Vice President, White House Staff and Cabinet; 535 to members of Congress; 10 to members of the Environmental Quality Council; 300 to "key officials" in the Department of the Interior; 70 to the most active national environmental groups; 1,000 to the Presidents and Board chairmen of "Fortune 500" companies; 50 to Governors; 7,604 to members of State Legislatures; 150 to Mayors of the country's largest 150 cities; and 4,941 to the presidents, natural science departments, public relations departments and student body presidents of the country's 1,647 universities and four-year colleges). Moreover, the magazine promised "an extensive, coordinated publicity program to inform newspapers, general and trade magazines and TV" about the project, including "major, all-media press conferences to be held simultaneously in New York and Washington shortly before the issue date."



A special section in the September 1971 issue of Reader's Digest

This Creative Guide is for whoever will work with Reader's Digest in preparing your company's report

2

From the start, the *Digest* was more than merely a display case for the advertisers' message. In its brochure, it pledged to be "a contributing partner every step of the way." First, it would share substantially in the cost of the project, paying for all of the promotional and merchandising program and providing three pages of its own: a color cover with "Pollution Control Report 1971—What Are We Doing About Our Environment?" outlined against a golden marsh; an introductory page with "a message by a well-known environmental authority, designed to explain the section and its purpose" and a "closing summary page in quiz format." Perhaps more important, the *Digest* promised to provide editing, design and other creative services (free of charge to advertisers who signed up before February 1 but at a fee of \$2,500 per page for

those who came in afterwards). Such services were not optional; they were required. For the *Digest* was determined to give its advertisers "the benefit of editorial techniques that have made the *Digest* the world's most widely-read magazine." This meant setting the ads in the magazine's article layout, which the *Digest* said would give them "editorial" look, clarity, appeal and believability." It also meant writing the ads themselves in *Digest* style. A "creative guide" distributed to potential advertisers instructed them to write manuscripts telling what their company was doing for the environment but in roughly twice as many words as would eventually appear in the ad. "Reader's *Digest* will edit and condense your manuscript using techniques that have proved so enormously successful in the magazine itself."

Each ad will have a small "advertisement" slug at the top of the page (as the Post Office Department requires). But when I asked Don Horton, the *Digest's* promotion director, whether some of the magazine's relatively unsophisticated readers might not make the distinction between such ads and the nearly identical looking articles, Mr. Horton said, "I suppose some readers won't." He added that the use of the "editorial" look in the section's ads was by no means unique. He said the same format had been used in other special advertising sections: notably several sections promoting air travel and a Uniroyal section. He said surveys showed readers tended to believe ads laid out in this style more than they did display ads. And the environment advertisers wanted "believability." I asked Mr. Horton whether any attempt would be made to check out the claims which the companies made in their ads. He said they would be submitted, as are all prospective *Digest* ads, to the advertising acceptability department for checking. How would such checks be carried out? Mr. Horton said he assumed the checkers would talk first with the companies themselves and their ad agencies, but he didn't know who else would be called. Would there be any independent inquiry by the *Digest*? "Well, we don't have 700 ecologists running around the country, if that's what you mean," Mr. Horton said.

In any case, he said, he wasn't sure that kind of elaborate checking was necessary when you were dealing with the kind of major companies who would be advertising in the section. "These people are responsible companies who are not about to do anything they're going to be made a fool on. You just don't expect a company like General Motors to come out and make an outright lie." Mr. Horton said he believed "the vast amount of companies are fine companies. This section is based on the belief that companies are doing their best in the environmental field. Sure, they probably could do more if they worked weekends and nights. But they are already spending millions and millions of dollars on this thing and nobody knows about it. Ralph Nader and critics like him get all the publicity. What we're doing in this section is giving American business a chance to tell their side of the story. Everybody questions everybody, it's an old American thing, but I suppose you're still innocent until you're proven guilty. I'm all for ecology, but you get a bunch of nuts from time to time. I'm a yachtsman. I've got a boat I sail out on Long Island Sound. Well, some of these people got together and got a law passed which says you can't flush your toilet on the sound. Well that's fine, except there's only one pumping station on the North Shore. So all that law means is that I and others are going to be breaking the law."

I asked Mr. Horton whether he didn't think some of the responsible groups in the environmental field ought to be given a chance to comment on or reply to the companies' claims in the advertising section. He laughed. "Well, we're not giving this space away, you know. We're selling it. I think we'd be a little gauche to accept an ad and then run something right next to it saying, 'Oh, no you don't'."

Had the *Digest* heard from any environmental groups concerned about the special section? Mr. Horton said it hadn't. I then showed him a letter to Hobart Lewis, the *Digest's* President and Editor-in-Chief, from the Council on Economic Priorities, a nonprofit organization that assesses corporate performance on social issues. In the letter, dated January 21, the Council said it was concerned that the section "might be mistaken by your readers for an objective report on the pollution issue. The type designating the material as 'advertising' is so small that it is likely to be overlooked, particularly on the pages that will carry the elaborate, eye-catching color prints you are planning. Even if readers grasp the distinction, we think it is important for a major national publication such as the *Digest* to provide its readership a balanced view of such complex national issues as the environmental crisis." The Council said it would "gladly provide such an assessment for inclusion in your supplement" and "would be happy to assist you in arranging for other independent groups to provide similar material." A spokesman for the Council said it had never received a reply from the *Digest*. Mr. Horton said he didn't know how that could happen. "We always answer our mail," he said.

Several other environmental groups are concerned about the *Digest* project. One is the Scientists' Institute for Public Information, an organization which makes scientific data available on controversial social issues. Walter Bogan, the Institute's executive director, says: "Two basic questions are raised by the

proposed *Digest* insert: will it be difficult for the casual reader to realize that the insert is indeed a series of advertisements and not an independent *Digest* report on the activities of industry in dealing with environmental problems? Two, even if most people recognize that the insert is a series of ads, will the considerable promotion which the *Digest* is giving the insert persuade many readers that this prestigious magazine accepts the ads as balanced descriptions of the actual state of industrial-environmental affairs? If either question can be answered 'yes' then the *Digest* would appear to be doing a disservice both to the countless persons who read the insert in order to be better informed about environmental issues and the individuals, organizations and publications which are striving to provide accurate and balanced environmental reporting to the public."

I asked Mr. Horton to tell me which "well-known environmental authority" was going to write the introductory statement for the insert. In the *Digest's* brochure, a mock-up of the introductory page listed the author as "Important Name, Chairman, Name of Panel or Committee." Mr. Horton sent his secretary to find out who the Important Name was. While she was out, the phone in the outer office rang and just then the secretary came back and handed Mr. Horton a slip of paper which read: "Bill Houseman, *Environment Monthly*."

Mr. Horton looked puzzled. "Bill Houseman?" he said. "Tell him I'll call him back."

"No," his secretary said. "He's not on the phone. He's the man who's writing the introduction."

"Oh," Mr. Horton said.

Several environmental specialists I consulted hadn't heard of Mr. Houseman, either. Finally, I called him at the office of *Environment Monthly* in Manhattan. He told me his publication was a \$35-a-year newsletter aimed at industrialists, architects and planners. The newsletter gives annual awards for industries that have made a contribution to the environment. In its April awards issue, the monthly said "we think American corporations are trying to tell us something. A corner seems to have been turned and many more companies are embracing the philosophy encouraged by our Honor Awards Program: namely to make environmental excellence a basic condition in the pursuit of corporate goals." One of the three companies that received "double citations" this year is the International Paper Company, which the Council on Economic Priorities considers one of the major polluters in the wood products field. Mr. Houseman said he presumed that the awards program was one reason the *Digest* selected him to write the introduction. He said he was a middle-of-the-roader in the field, "somewhere between the environmental extremists and the out-and-out venal slaves of the corporate gospel." Mr. Houseman believes "corporations are not hopeless and in any case we're stuck with them; certainly I have no serious quarrel with any of the companies advertising in this section." He said that his role in the special section—which has included consulting with at least two of the companies about their ads as well as writing the introduction—was "absolutely unique, like nothing I've ever done before," but he said "I'm not really purchasable; I'm not being paid to be the *Reader's Digest's* toady."

There are indications that even corporate America has not responded to the project with unadulterated enthusiasm. *Digest* officials say there will probably be between 22 and 24 pages in the section. Subtracting the three *Digest* pages, this leaves 19 to 21 advertising pages. Assuming that some of them are multiple spreads, this means that something like 10 to 14 advertisers have bought space—scarcely a massive turnout considering the *Digest's* fierce promotion of the section. The *Digest* refuses to give out the names of the advertisers. But, from several sources it appears they will include three trade associations—the Glass Container Manufacturers Institute, the Carbonated Beverage Container Manufacturers' Association and the American Forest Institute—as well as the Shell Oil Company. A spot check with several other major companies indicates that at least five declined to participate—Standard Oil, Consolidated Edison, International Paper, Union Carbide, and a large paper company. An executive of the paper company explained:

"In the past few years, we've been approached by 67 magazines and special editions of newspapers—all trying to get on the environment bandwagon. *Reader's Digest* wants at least \$59,000 a page from participating companies. This is the most commercial and blatant approach I've seen to date. I don't think the industry will support it."

But there will always be enough companies to support a project like this. For American industry still sees the environment as more a matter of corporate image-making than of any fundamental changes in the way it does business. Industry may have spent more than a billion dollars to clean up pollution, but it has also spent roughly as much on advertising its concern for the environment in heartbreakingly "sincere" ads which one advertising man has termed "eco pornography."

The *Digest* is not about to spurn revenue like that. As Don Horton says, "opportunity and opportunism are right next to each other in the dictionary."

Moynihan's Scholarly Tantrum

BY GEORGE E. REEDY

When the petty grumbings and irritable recriminations of frustrated men are translated into the language of philosophical dialogues on universal truth, it is time for honest men to grab their families and run for the nearest bomb shelter. There is nothing so deadly as the all too human tendency to confuse private resentment with the public weal.

Daniel P. Moynihan has spent most of his life in the partisan world. Unfortunately, this included the academic world (which can give most ward organizations cards and spades and still scoop up the pot) and this has given him the qualities of both the trained intellectual and the crusading politician. The skills of each are brought to bear in his *Commentary* article on The Presidency & the Press with a brilliance that obscures the fact that he is merely repeating old arguments in a new form.

The world of the partisan—whether academic or political—lies in the cosmos of certified and certifiable "truth." It is an environment in which men must make certain assumptions as to universals because without such assumptions they cannot act. A political leader who spends his time agonizing over the nature of reality quickly reduces himself to the status of an ineffectual pain in the neck—a description I would never apply to Moynihan.

There is another aspect of the partisan world, however, that has a direct bearing on the politician's attitude towards the press. In addition to being a cosmos of "truth", it is also a cosmos of inevitable frustration. Politicians can win—but they cannot win ultimately. They are dealing with human desires and human cussedness and somehow things just never work out the way they were planned. Something always intervenes to rob the finest triumphs of their flavor.

This is the factor which plays the most important role in the eternal warfare of politicians against the press. They cannot blame their constituents for their failures; they cannot concede there are problems beyond their skill. Under such circumstances, they can only resort to blaming the people who tell the public what they are doing and who tell them what the public is doing.

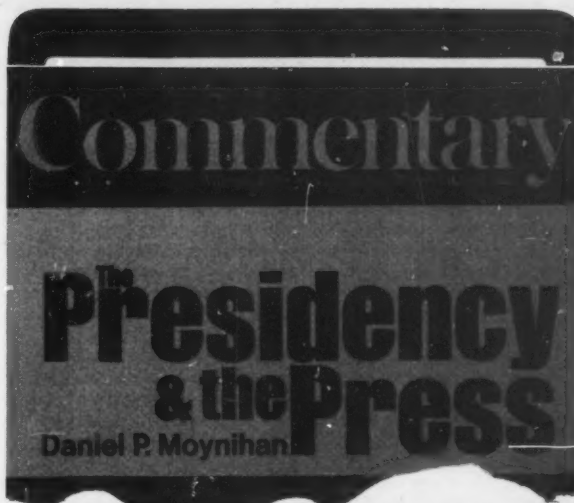
Most of my life has been spent in the company of politicians, either as the son of a newspaperman, a newspaperman or a government official. Consequently, I became accustomed at an early age to continuous diatribes against the "lying, yellow, kept press." It never particularly bothered me as I recognized it for what it was—a device for leaders to blow off steam that was far more acceptable socially than beating their wives or kicking their dogs. There was no harm in it and it stimulated circulation, both arterial and commercial.

But Moynihan has added a new dimension to the process. What in the past were merely understandable, and forgivable, tantrums, take on the trappings of a noble crusade when restated in the sophisticated idioms of a scholar. And crusades based upon tantrums always have unfortunate consequences to humanity.

It is too bad that Moynihan never faced the problem on a professional basis of trying to find out what had happened and how it can be related to the general public. If he had spent any important part of his life pounding the corridors of City Hall, patrolling the offices of the Capitol or calling White House assistants in search of a straight account of a simple event, he could not have produced his article with a straight face. He would have known that "truth" is an elusive quality whose purity is certified in quite different ways by Democrats, Republicans, liberals, conservatives, southerners, northerners or any ten people who may have been a witness or a participant. He would also have known that a "lie" is usually another man's version of the facts—and that the other man is equally convinced that he knows the "truth".

Moynihan's basic criticism of the press—both explicit and implicit—is that it does *not* tell the "truth" and lacks mechanisms by which "lies" are excluded from its columns. This is a perfectly natural statement from a political creature. But the newspaperman who has thought about his profession has a very quick answer. *Whose truth should he tell to the exclusion of all others?* Should he concentrate on Lyndon Johnson's truths? On Richard Nixon's truths? On J. William Fulbright's truths? On George McGovern's truths? On Scoop Jackson's truths? And how does he decide which accounts are "lies" to be excised from newspapers and television in order to protect the public from contamination? What are the standards by which some Pure News Administration will move to safeguard readers and listeners?

The reality, or course, is that newsmen do not deal in "truths." Their business is to gather and present *facts* (who hit whom under what circumstances), *plus* the "certified" truths of participants, *plus* enough history so the facts make some sense. This is a staggering challenge under the best of circumstances and it is hardly surprising that it is not performed as well as it would be in an ideal world. Had Moynihan concentrated on the inadequacies of this process as practiced, he would have had the support and cooperation of many journalists who are deeply disturbed by the shortcomings in their profession. But he is



In the March *Commentary*, Daniel P. Moynihan, an influential adviser in the Administrations of Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, argues that there are "five basic circumstances which together have been working to reverse the old balance of power between the Presidency and the press." Summarized, they are:

1. That reporters and editors are drawn increasingly from the liberal, Ivy League elite and that "the political consequence of the rising social status of journalism is that the press grows more and more influenced by attitudes genuinely hostile to American society and American government;"
2. That journalists naively promulgate the notion that the Presidential office is all powerful when, in fact, it is anything but that and often a victim of unrealistic expectations generated by the press;
3. That the Washington press corps depends heavily for its information on "leaks" from the federal bureaucracies "which are frequently, and in some cases routinely, antagonistic to Presidential interests;"
4. That in covering the statements of public figures, the press often prints and broadcasts lies in the name of objectivity and that this policy "made" Sen. Joseph McCarthy in the 'fifties and "enabled the neo-fascists of the Left to occupy center stage throughout the latter half of the 'sixties."
5. That the total absence of a professional tradition of self-correction is one of journalism's more serious shortcomings.

challenging not the shortcomings but the process itself—the concept that "truth" is an individual matter and the best the newsman can do is to present conflicting "truths" to people who will make up their own minds.

His whole argument reminds me of a statement by a Soviet functionary a few years ago that the Soviet press is entirely free to "tell the truth." Naturally, the man added, "lies" are not presented in Pravda and Izvestia because "the Soviet people are not interested."

The fallacy of this "tell the truth" thesis is quite evident when stated baldly. But Moynihan is far too skilled not to build up a case. He begins by quoting a number of public figures—Harry S. Truman, Irving Kristol and A. M. Rosenthal (the latter, I suspect, somewhat out of context)—who lament the divergency between newspaper accounts of events in which they participated and what they *know* actually happened. It is very impressive but if these esteemed gentlemen will forgive me, this is precisely the type of complaint that makes newsmen very cynical or at least tolerantly contemptuous. It takes little experience to learn that *every* participant in an event sees it through his own eyes and is honestly convinced that the viewpoint of every other participant is either venal or corrupted by "partisanship."

Honorable newspapermen (the honor quotient isn't any higher for them than it is for doctors, lawyers, politicians or businessmen but neither is it any lower) try to piece together the accounts of every participant whom they can corner. Obviously, the result is not going to satisfy any of them. But the rule that no two men see things alike is so invariable that if I were an editor, I would regard with grave suspicion any reporter who drew consistent praise from a part-

isan for his "fair presentation of the news." I would suspect the man of turning a few tricks in the hay.

It is interesting that Moynihan himself refutes all of his quotes from distinguished people—but does so in an obscure footnote referring to the "Rashomon effect". I wish that the footnote had the same prominence as his text and I would feel somewhat happier if I had some confidence that everyone who reads the article will be familiar with Japanese drama.

I first encountered the "Rashomon effect" while covering an auto accident as a young reporter on a police beat in Philadelphia. Eight eyewitnesses gave me eight different accounts—a somewhat bewildering experience at that time. It was fortunate for me that it was not a very important story as my journalistic career would have terminated with a nervous breakdown on the spot. An experienced rewrite man, sensing my state of near panic as I poured out my confusion over the telephone, advised me in quiet tones to walk around the block and look at the police blotter. The result was a stick and a half (newspapermen used such language in those days) reporting a two-car collision on Vine Street.

That stick and a half wasn't much. But it prepared me for the future—for dealing with big labor, the House, the Senate and the White House. The explanations became more sophisticated but basically I have yet to deal with an event in which the explanations of the participants coincide any more than did those of my eight eyewitnesses in Philadelphia more than 30 years ago.

Of a somewhat different order is the Moynihan indignation over "leaks" and their damage to the conduct of governmental affairs. Somehow, he seems to believe that the foundations of the Republic have been rocked because Presidents cannot withhold information on their activities until they are ready to present it. Unfortunately, he is a bit short on specifics and the example he presents has something of an opera bouffe quality. He writes:

"I have seen a senior aide to a President, sitting over an early cup of coffee, rise and literally punch the front page of the New York Times. A major initiative was being carefully mounted. Success depended, to a considerable degree, on surprise."

What this is supposed to prove is difficult to fathom. I could match this example with many others but all they prove to me is that the phrase "senior aide" is not equivalent to "mature aide". The White House provides an atmosphere that encourages immaturity but even so, it is cutting it a bit thick to suggest that a man is entitled to throw a childish tantrum because someone upset his apperçût. I also believe there is something wrong with any "initiative" that depends so heavily upon "surprise" that it must be "aborted" upon premature disclosure. (Is there any significance to the fact that White House assistants dwell obsessively on military terminology when they discuss public opinion?)

It may seem heretical to ex-White House assistants who have not gone through a decompression period, but I believe the thought will occur to them after a few years that the Presidential obsession with premature disclosure has very little to do with the state of the press or the state of the nation. Leaks do involve difficult political problems for Presidents. And, as they are a major weapon in palace guard knife fighting, they do involve agonizing hours for assistants. But I doubt whether anyone will make a serious argument that political leaders should be exempted from political problems or their assistants from the consequences.

The more important aspect of this issue, however, is that once again, Moynihan is challenging the basic process of gathering the news. Newspapermen accept and use "leaks" because they are the only alternative to placing news presentation solely in the hands of the ruling circles in government. How else can a reporter go behind the official facade? How else can he dig out the facts that lie behind the public statements of political leaders who, even with the best of will, are always going to put themselves in the most favorable light?

Moynihan is not very convincing when he professes to find moral and ethical problems in the use of leaks. Government information is the property of the people—not just the officials who happen to be filling key jobs at any given moment. Furthermore, he is silent on the question of Presidential leaks—which have been known to occur. Of course, the people at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue are not really worried about leaks—only those that originate outside the White House.

This is a side issue. As long as we have a free society, Congressmen, Federal officials and politicians—for good or for bad reasons—will continue to give unofficial information to the press. This will upset the cherished plans of future administrations as it has in the past. But it will not upset the Republic or undermine democracy. We will destroy ourselves only when we decide that we must protect our people from knowing what is happening until our leaders decide that it is time to tell them.

Perhaps someone will propose a board to determine what leaks are constructive and which should be suppressed. This is an idea in line with what Moynihan appears to be proposing in that section of his article denouncing the press for carrying "lies". I may be wrong about this since it is difficult to determine whether he is proposing something or whether he is merely throwing out the elements of a proposal for his readers to put together for themselves. But in either case, the progression of his points entitles me to believe that he must mean something. They are:

1. The press is bound by a distorted standard of objectivity which

requires it to carry the statements of leaders.

2. Some of those leaders are lying and when the press carries their statements, it carries lies.

3. If the press didn't carry such lies, the nation would not be torn by demagogues.

4. In Great Britain, men like the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy could not gain influence because "if" it was determined that they were lying the press would not carry their statements.

5. Great Britain has a press board and there have been proposals to create a similar board in this country but they have never been instituted and therefore Americans are at the mercy of the press.

There is an alluring quality to this argument, particularly for those who have vivid memories of the McCarthy era. But there are a few holes in the progression that deserve some exploration. The first, and most obvious, is that on the basis of the Moynihan criteria the Congressional Record, a publicly available document which carries verbatim statements by national leaders, must be guilty of telling lies. Does Moynihan believe there should be a censorship board to preside over Congressional debate?

Obviously, no one is going to propose such censorship of Congress. But raising the issue in such terms puts a somewhat different perspective on the Moynihan thesis. It seems to me that a more valid characterization of the press is that it carries the statements of partisan leaders which are frequently reckless, rarely objective and occasionally quite cynical. When newsmen report such statements they should, and usually do, present as many relevant facts as they can gather. But it is asking too much to expect them to make a determination that a statement is a "lie" and should not be presented at all.

The Moynihan thesis gains plausibility because he couples it with the fortunes of Joe McCarthy, who is anathema to the liberal establishment. It is not quite so plausible when it is extended to other political leaders, which it would have to be. It would be interesting to see what would happen if a committee of hawks were to pass conclusive judgment on the veracity of Senator Fulbright or a committee of doves on President Nixon. Of course, I would rather not see it—no matter how interesting. Freedom is too important to be abrogated for such a test.

As a matter of fact, Moynihan would be hard pressed to supply objective proof, in a dictionary sense, that McCarthy told lies. He didn't have to. McCarthy was dealing with an audience that already believed the government was honeycombed with Communist spies. This audience did not need proof—not even spurious proof. It only required someone with a credible platform to identify the culprits and McCarthy had that platform—the United States Senate.

McCarthy was a master of the double negative, the undistributed middle and the irrelevant truth. As a general rule, however, he did not even have to use these weapons. Innuendo was enough. It was sufficient for him to say "this man Alger—I mean Adlai—" for him to convince thousands of his followers that he had somehow documented a full case against Adlai Stevenson.

Once the press recovered from the first shock of the McCarthy tactics, it did a creditable job at considerable risk to a number of careers. There were men who endured abuse and suspicion but who dug out—and printed—the relevant facts which untwisted double negatives and filled in undistributed middles. But the one thing they could not do was to refuse to print what he said.

Let us see what would have been involved in refusing to print the McCarthy charges.

In the first place, it would be quite a departure for the press to ignore charges by a United States Senator—speaking with either the acquiescence or the approval of leaders of a major political party—that revolutionaries had infiltrated high councils of government.

In the second place, there were large segments of the press that believed the McCarthy charges to be valid and would have printed them as a "public service" short of outright police censorship.

In the third place, McCarthy had followers who would have paid for commercial air time on radio, if necessary, and press silence on such speeches would merely have fortified the belief of those followers in a Communist plot.

I do not have any direct experience with the British press or Parliament. But I have checked with some friends in the press corps and the British embassy, and I do not share Moynihan's willingness to endorse the system under which they operate. It would be well to take a rather close look before going overboard on the beauties of a system which would not give publicity to the likes of Joe McCarthy.

All of my British friends assure me that Moynihan is right—that Great Britain is demagogue-proof and that the press would not carry McCarthy-type statements. They dismiss Enoch Powell as an "exception" (was McCarthy the rule?) and claim that the current problem with the "coloreds" has been "exaggerated" by American newspapers. It is a pretty picture.

It is not quite so pretty when they are pressed for details of the machinery that sterilizes unwholesome thoughts for the protection of the British public. Basically, their case rests upon a claim, which I cannot verify, that the Speaker of the House of Commons has extraordinary controls over debate which enable him to rule out of order, and therefore beyond parliamentary immunity, statements that he regards as defamatory. Newspapers that then carried the statements would run afoul of very tough libel laws *plus* the British press board.

Moynihan may have a different interpretation of the British system. But certainly what my friends have described to me is in line with his philosophical attitude towards the press. It rests upon the assumption that someone should be able to determine the "truth"—in this case the Speaker of the House of Commons. I have considerable confidence in the Speakers of the American House of Representatives. But I would not have trusted even the late Sam Rayburn, the most fair-minded man I have met in public life, with such power. I doubt whether he would have accepted it, tough as he was in wielding the gavel to force bills through Congress.

I should add that I cannot avoid the feeling that my English friends are indulging in a bit of wishful thinking over the purity and incorruptibility of their democracy. Perhaps their gratitude to Moynihan is merely another example of the Sassenach gullibility which was all that enabled Reedy's and Moynihan's to survive after Drogheda.

Moynihan's reflections on the British press system, however, are merely a side excursion. They are worthy of comment only because they are another illustration of his basic thesis—that there are pure thoughts which should be reported and impure thoughts which should be suppressed. The thesis itself reaches its ecstatic climax when he poses the question: "... how much elitist criticism is good ...?" for our country.

This is an interesting phraseology. It assumes—without proof or even definition—that the press indulges in "elitist" criticism. It also assumes—this time without even very much argument—that a free society must suppress certain types, or at least certain degrees, of criticism in order to remain free. If Moynihan were to assert such a proposition in a freshman logic course, he would be told immediately that he is begging the question.

It is difficult to counter Moynihan's argument on the "elitist" issue simply because he does not define the "elite". I have gone over a list of the leading journalists in Washington in an effort to fit them into some category—educa-

tional, sectional, ethnic or hereditary—that might fit the term. I have found farm boys from North Carolina; small town boys from Minnesota; big city boys from California; garment workers' sons from Chicago. I have found graduates of the Ivy League (mostly the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism). But their only common denominator appears to be their status as newspapermen.

Furthermore, assuming that Moynihan can produce a workable definition of "elitist", how does he differentiate the criticisms of that group from others? How much black criticism is good for our society? How much business criticism is good for our society? How much hard-hat criticism is good for our society? How much conservative criticism is good for our society? How much liberalism is good for our society?

Perhaps it is possible to respond to these questions with mathematical precision and ration out to each group a permissible amount of criticism. This only raises another intriguing question. *If there is a degree of elitist criticism which is bad for our society, is there a degree of elitist participation in our government which is bad for our society?* Have we had too many Harvard professors serving in high positions? Have we had too many Ivy League luminaries staffing the National Security Council? Is George Wallace performing a public service when he calls upon Americans to seize the "pointy-headed intellectuals in Washington" and "throw their brief cases into the Potomac?"

In the last analysis, it becomes apparent that the word "elitist" is merely a pejorative adjective. Moynihan applies it to the press; Wallace to the "professors". But the results are the same. The thesis is that freedom must be circumscribed in order to preserve freedom.

As an institution, the press has *not* been sufficiently self-critical and it has been far readier to protect its privileges than to correct its deficiencies. An indictment could be drawn that would make the *Commentary* article pale by comparison.

But a press adequate to the needs of a free society will *not* be produced by press boards which pass upon the "truth" or by rationing the amount of criticism to which individual groups in our society are entitled. This is *not* the road to freedom. It is the road to controlled thought.

Slicking Over the Oil Industry

BY PAUL COWAN

In 1966, the Gulf Oil Company made a strike in Angola's off-shore waters. By 1970, the company had invested \$130 million in the area, with a planned \$106 million expansion program. The only force seriously threatening that investment was the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which sought to overthrow Portugal's colonialist government. Like all businesses in Angola, Gulf made a deal with the Portuguese designed to hold the rebels in check. The oil company promised to aid the Portuguese government "in securing peace and order" and the Portuguese agreed "to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure that the company may carry out its operations freely and efficiently." For the past several years, Gulf's camps in Cabinda have been surrounded by eight-foot-high barbed wire fences and by spotlights. Gulf employs as guards Angolan revolutionaries skilled at spotting sabotage.

One of the longest reports on Gulf's activities in Angola, a piece by William D. Smith, appeared in the business section of the *Times* on Jan. 12, 1969. "Cabinda: Happiness Is Offshore Oil," read the main head; the jump head read: "Cabinda Offshore Oil Sings a Happy Song." Here is the lead: "Cabinda ... Let's see. A late, late movie starring Arlene Dahl and Fernando Lamas? No. A Miami Beach Hotel? No. One of the hottest new oil producing properties in the World? Yes! And one of the petroleum industry's most successful diversification moves..." Angola's political problems were tucked away into a single paragraph toward the bottom of the story. "Political as well as oil industry sources contend that the revolt (for liberation) has very little support among the Angolans." (The rebels claim they operate in about half of Angola and that they control between one-fourth and one-third of the colony.)

The article had no dateline; it was probably written in New York, not Angola. Most likely it was stitched together from industry press releases and talks with public relations men. Certainly that sort of reporting would be consistent with Smith's concept of journalism. Last summer, in the *Washington Monthly*, Richard Karp asked Smith if he'd interviewed any critics before writing a piece that parroted the industry's line on import quotas. "No," answered Smith, "anti-oil people don't come up here badgering us to get their points of view across; the industry does. My job is to report about the industry; other reporters down in Washington get the government's story. I interview the president of Standard Oil of New Jersey; he gives me the party line and it is my job to quote him..."

The *Times* business section is one of the more glaring examples of the mass media's consistently timid, shallow coverage of international oil opera-

tions. Little that appears in newspapers, magazines, or on television conveys the sense of the huge scale of the oil industry. Yet, as Richard J. Barber points out in *The American Corporation*, Standard Oil alone has "more than a hundred thousand employees around the world (it has three times as many people overseas as the State Department), a six-million-ton tanker fleet (half again bigger than the Russians'), and \$17 billion in assets (nearly equal to the combined assessed valuations of Chicago and Los Angeles), [and] it can more easily be thought of as a nation-state than as a commercial enterprise."

Nor is much sense ever given of the industry's imperial needs that you find in this recent observation of a Gulf Oil official: "During the next ten years the oil industry is going to have to invest more than \$200 billion to provide for the growing demand for petroleum... Free world demand is expected to increase by some 25 million barrels per day. That means the oil industry will have to discover about 40 billion dollars' worth of new oil leases each year, build the equivalent of 900 of the 100,000-ton tankers, and construct 250 new refineries each with the average capacity of 100,000 barrels per day. Since it is estimated that exploration in the United States will provide only a small fraction of those requirements, the majority of those oil reserves must be found elsewhere."

How are the billion dollar decisions made? On what sort of information do the oil companies operate, with what assurances? For example, does the oil industry have its own intelligence system or does it rely on the CIA? To what extent does it count on local mercenary troops for protection, or does it still hope for the protection of the U.S. military? What is the relationship between the industry and the White House, State Department and Defense Department? Between the industry and the Third World countries in which it operates? Do those relations vary from continent to continent? You could watch network news for a year, read *Time* and *Newsweek* weekly and the *Times* daily, and never know the answers to such questions. Most newspaper readers—even the professionals who read this publication—are much more aware of tensions within left-wing splinter groups, or the splits and schisms within their state Democratic party (or within the Knicks or the Beatles) than of the arguments and plans inside the international oil companies that control so much of this planet's life. Few readers even know the names or elementary facts. Give yourself a quick test. Who is J. Kenneth Jamieson? Milo Brisco? What are the names of the major international oil companies? Where is Shell located and who controls it? What are the main institutions of the oil lobby?

I first became aware of these shortcomings when David Gelber and I

began to write about Vietnam's offshore oil for the *Village Voice*. Geological probes indicate that there is almost certainly oil in the waters off the Mekong Delta. In December 1970, the South Vietnamese government announced that 17 huge concessions would be up for bids in 1971. The area's ecologically sound, low-sulfur oil could be perfect for the Japanese market. Already Gulf and six Japanese companies have formed the Ocean Oil Corporation, a consortium that exists solely for the purpose of working in Vietnam (Gulf will pay 70 percent of the cost and earn 70 percent of the profits). Mobil, Caltex, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Shell have been haggling with the Vietnamese government about the terms of the leases. The Vietnamese have asked a delegation of Iranians (who have a great deal of experience with the oil-hungry superpowers) to help them draw up legislation. On April 1, the *Journal of Commerce* quoted an oil industry source in Singapore who said that 32 companies have already submitted bids, and that the Vietnamese will choose between them by June 15.

Middle-level bureaucrats in the White House, the Commerce Department and an international oil company told Gelber and me that the United States government had given the oil companies assurances that their Vietnam investments would be protected. One source said the assurances were primarily military, another claimed they were primarily political. They all emphasized the importance of economic guarantees, and it seems almost certain that the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a government agency that insures U.S. companies against political risks like revolutions and expropriations, is a key to the story. Such insurance would take most of the danger out of investing in the war-torn country. In February, a spokesman for OPIC told us that some preliminary discussions between oil companies and his organization had already taken place, though no application for insurance had been submitted yet. On March 10, *Platt's Oilgram*, a publication for which oil companies pay \$400 a year, described an OPIC board meeting at which the Department of Defense had offered to help underwrite the insurance policies if applications were submitted. OPIC officials denied that their agency was involved in the Vietnamese oil situation, but two of our sources in the organization said that the *Oilgram* item was true. Another told us that John Hannah, director of AID and chairman of OPIC, urged the organization to insure the oil operations if the companies applied.

There have been scattered newspaper stories and television segments about Vietnam's oil, but most of them do no more than cite assertions by peace groups and liberal politicians that the presence of oil will prolong the war, and counter them with quotes from State Department spokesmen who deny the charges. Even the *Times*' Phillip Shabecoff, who explored the relationship between potential oil strikes and the U.S. government's strategy of "economic Vietnamization," took most of his material from a briefing session the American Friends Service Committee had organized. The only piece of primary research I've seen was in a piece by the *Washington Post*'s Bernard Nossiter, who sought to discredit the story by showing how a highly inflated estimate of Vietnam's potential, which first appeared in *World Oil*, had been picked up by the *Nation*, the *Voice*, and *Business Week*. And even Nossiter's article was inspired by a speech by Senator Phillip Hart. So far, not a single journalist in the mass media has done the difficult job of exploring the real sources of the story—OPIC, the Ocean Oil Corporation, Vietnam's Petroleum Council, the Iranian Delegation, the United Nation's Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East which sponsored the most important series of seismic soundings, the U.S. oil community in Singapore.

Nor has the media examined the role oil plays in the United States' overall strategy for Southeast Asia. At a conference in Singapore last year, David Rockefeller predicted that the oil companies would invest \$35 billion in Asia and the Western Pacific over the next 12 years, most of it in Southeast Asia. Leonard Unger, U.S. Ambassador to Thailand, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1969 that "there is one very, very large development that may take place (in Thailand)... That is oil exploration." There have already been major strikes off the coast of Indonesia. Oil companies have bought concessions off every country on the South China Sea except Vietnam, where bidding is scheduled to begin soon. Trade publications simmer with news of the region's potential boom. Here, for example, is a passage from *Petroleum Engineer Magazine*, June, 1970: "If and when the United States wins its objectives [in Vietnam], oil exploration could conceivably be successful enough to turn that part of the world into another South Louisiana-Texas type producing area. This would be one of the biggest booms in the industry's history. It all depends on the Vietnam war, how long it takes to get the job done and how well it's done."

Why have so few reporters, so few publications and news shows, been unwilling to explore this story? At first I thought the reasons were clear-cut economic ones. I noticed, for example, that the NBC weekend news was sponsored by Standard Oil of New Jersey. I saw that Meet the Press was also sponsored by Jersey. That fact probably explains why you don't see the few tough

¹ J. Kenneth Jamieson is chairman of Standard Oil of New Jersey's board; Milo Brisco is the company's president. The major international oil companies are Jersey, Texaco, Gulf, Mobil, British Petroleum, Shell, and Standard Oil of California. Royal Dutch Shell is a British and Dutch company with headquarters in London. The international company's main lobbying institution is the American Petroleum Institute; the independents use the Independent Petroleum Producers Association.

Can the oil industry be accused of "visual" pollution?

Many motorists feel too many service stations post too many signs in their effort to attract more business.

With more service stations in the United States than any other oil company, Texaco has a particular interest in this problem.

Even though Texaco Retailers are independent businessmen, we've started a nationwide program to encourage them to cut out the clutter—to rid their stations of superfluous signs, pennants, and trappings. It is in line with our long-standing recommendation to them that certain attention-getting devices, while suitable for carnivals and circuses, are out of place at service stations.

However, when Texaco Retailers have real news about our products, which can be truly helpful to customers, they will present it clearly and in good taste.

Working to cure the country's sign problem is part of Texaco's continuing effort to help keep America beautiful.

After all, the service station is the storefront of the oil industry. We want to make a good impression with attractive facilities throughout every one of the 50 states.

We know the problems.

We are working to provide the solutions.

TEXACO
INC.

Working to keep you trust.

"Complaints? Yes. We have one which recurs again and again. About the ad. Our answer: We like it. It cuts down on the volume of articles, enabling us to keep up quality standards. And it anchors the page in the real world."

—Harrison Salisbury, in an assessment of the *Times*' Op-Ed Page.

FIGHT DECAY

Urban decay.

Your check to the New York Urban Coalition will do it.

The Coalition tries to solve problems that eat away at our city: problems of housing, health, education, minority economic development, minority employment.

Look what the Coalition has done about minority jobs:

More than 20,000 New Yorkers have found steady work through the efforts of Coalition JOBS. The total should hit 30,000 by summer. And we're talking about good jobs, with genuine potential and decent salaries.

The New York Urban Coalition is a partnership of people from business, labor, and the minority communities. Thousands of New Yorkers need the Coalition's help. The Coalition needs yours.

Please join us in support of the New York Urban Coalition. Just mail a decay-fighting check now, with the coupon.

get a check up

To: New York Urban Coalition, Fund Development Dept.
70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Enclosed is \$_____ Please use it to fight decay in New York City.

Name _____ (Please print)

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Contributions are tax-deductible.

Mobil

oil reporters in the country—James Ridgeway or Ronnie Dugger, for example—questioning industry officials, or oil senators like Russell Long and Clifford Hanson, or talking with the Rockefeller brothers about the family business.

But it turns out that oil interests foot a far lower proportion of the media's bill than the airlines or automobile companies or firms that make toiletries. The industry accounts for only about five percent of the advertising on national news shows, according to officials at NBC and CBS (the share of local news is probably a little higher, but no one I interviewed would give me accurate figures). According to statistics compiled by the Leading National Advertisers Inc., which tabulates newspaper, magazine and television spending, the oil industry ranked twenty-first in expenditures in the three media. Gulf, the highest ranked individual company, was number 51 on the list of national advertisers.

There are certainly subtle social restraints that blend with economic motives to prevent the media from muckraking the oil companies. A principal one, of course, is the image of responsibility the oil industry (and big business in general) has constructed for itself during a half century of skilled public relations. They have managed to persuade most of the press and most well-intentioned public figures that politicians are responsible for the economic and political system over which oil magnates have so much control. Most liberal journalists and publications seem inclined to accept the words a public relations man writes about a company as the definition of the company itself. Just read the *Saturday Review's* annual awards for the best corporate advertising; by implication, a single attractive or "responsible" ad is more important than a year's venality. Or read Harrison Salisbury's answer in *Times Talk*, that newspaper's house organ, to the complaints that ads are out of place on the Op-Ed page. "About the ad... We like it. (Italics his.) It cuts down on the volume of articles, allowing us to keep up quality standards. And it anchors the page in the real world." (Italics mine.)

In addition, many reporters and editors are reluctant to examine the oil industry because of fear, an atavism of the 1950s, that anyone who thinks economic imperialism may provide some explanation for U.S. foreign policy is likely to be seen as a sinister Marxist. And that fear is produced by an ignorance that spans the generation gap. In school, most of us learned nothing at all about the interplay between big businesses and the U.S. government. We were never taught about the motives for the invasions of the Philippines, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic. It was as if manifest destiny were a filmy theory, not a slogan designed to justify industry's desire to control raw materials and find new markets. In the crucial case of Cuba it was as if the Platt Amendment, the invasions and puppet governments, the 99-year lease on Guantanamo and the U.S. sugar tycoons who did so much to advance those programs, all belonged to a remote historical epoch barely worth mentioning, and that certainly has no bearing on the present. All the while, future editors and reporters (especially at Ivy

League colleges) mixed so freely with future business executives that their consciousness began to intertwine. It was difficult for a man who would become a dovidish writer for the *Times* or *Newsweek* to believe that his classmate, the corporation executive, would become an accessory of an institution forced by the biology of the business world to control large portions of the earth in order to survive. And it was probably impossible for a Punch Sulzberger or a Kay Graham to believe that the Jersey Standard vice president who seemed so friendly and courteous at a dozen cocktail parties was obliged by his work to encourage dictatorships and counter-revolutions that would make Asia, Africa and Latin America safe places for his company to operate. Such education and social atmosphere made concepts like class struggle and imperialism virtually impossible to fathom. Where were the tools which would help reporters and editors understand these critical issues? Government was suspect, of course, but business was largely ignored. Even my generation of young reporters, which came of age in the sixties and considered itself quite radical, tended to focus far more suspicious attention on the civil rights division of Kennedy's Justice Department, or the Peace Corps, or the OEO—institutions whose functions we understood—than on Gulf or Standard Oil.

Then, of course, there is that most damning fact of professional journalism: most reporters, even the noted ones, are too timid or lazy or unimaginative (or all three) to do the kind of reading and interviewing that would help them understand how complex organizations like oil companies operate. They are spooked by people and institutions they don't immediately understand. They eagerly accept a bureaucrat's transparent lie if it will allow them to avoid an ominously difficult piece of research.

Right now, the oil industry is acquiring unprecedented amounts of power, all the while distracting the public's attention with warnings about the energy crisis that might consume this country at any moment. To its credit, the *Times* editorial page consistently has pointed out the ephemeral nature of the oil lobby's dire predictions. But the paper's news columns—and most other reporting on the subject—accepted propaganda as fact, forecasting empty furnaces all over the Northeast last winter in an energy shortfall that turned out to be the economic non-event of the year. Meanwhile, the oil companies are busily buying out other suppliers of energy and the story gets little or no play. How many readers and viewers know, for example, that in the past decade four major coal companies—Consolidated, Island Creek, Old Ben and Pittsburgh and Midway—were purchased by oil producers? Or that oil companies now produce more than 14 per cent of the domestic uranium supply?

It would probably take a flying squad of Ida Tarbell's to plumb the depths of the oil industry's greed. As a symbolic first step in that direction, perhaps the *Times* business editor should replace William D. Smith with someone like Ridgeway or Dugger and give him enough space and travel money to do some respectable reporting.

Reflections on a Professional

BY DAVID HALBERSTAM

Mert Perry, who arrived in Vietnam in 1962 as something of a journalistic drifter and stayed on to become one of the most distinguished reporters of that war, died last fall at the age of 41. In a war largely devoid of heroes he was something of a hero to the men who worked with him, though he labored in the special anonymity of the news magazine and his name was not known to the public; indeed, it seemed somehow fitting at the funeral services in the tiny town of Warren, Wisconsin, that the preacher knew neither his name nor the texture of his life. Yet in a war where brilliant social scientists and elegant government spokesmen produced suave rationales and gleaming estimates, he had a compelling common sense. And in a war noteworthy for the lack of intellectual integrity of American officials, and a lack of their resignations from high government positions (many would later surface and turn out to have been against the war all the time) he had handed in one of the few resignations associated with that tragic conflict. He was a man of hard rock integrity, an ornament to his profession, and he was unemployed at the time of his death.

He was a large, indeed fat, man, of great humor with a fine sense of human frailty, both American and Vietnamese; he was good to his colleagues and particularly generous to younger reporters (he was the man a journalist would want to train a son of his who was entering the profession). He had an intuitive sense for the Vietnam story. He never lost his balance, he always understood, even when thousands and thousands of Americans poured into the country (many of them arriving just in time to give their briefings) that the war was essentially Vietnamese, that the Americans were more irrelevant than they realized. As early as 1962 he had written a strikingly significant story, one all but ignored at the time. At that time, just after the introduction of the helicopters, he had covered a number of large, famous victories in the Delta, and he went down to do a survey story on what all this meant, expecting to find the area

cleared of Vietcong. He found instead that the enemy was as strong as ever, that his root was political, that he had above all a capacity to replenish, to keep coming. It was probably the most important story of the war.

There were reporters in Vietnam who wrote faster and better, some who brought, and some who made, great reputations, and some (who should have known better) who were taken in by some very skilled briefers. Yet scoop is a dying art, what is important is judgment and balance, and here Mert Perry was impeccable. He was the hardest man to con I ever saw. He was, said Everett Martin, his bureau chief, whom Mert in effect taught Vietnam, never wrong on a major story there. He had of course been dovish and pessimistic when some of his superiors were hawkish and optimistic and this never helped his career; they after all got the highest-level briefings imaginable, the very great and the very mighty laid it on, and they bought it. Mert never did. But this did not help his career and later when he left *Newsweek*, Charley Mohr of the *Times*, his close friend, would write to me when I mentioned *Newsweek's* shabbiness, that it was a far worse professional crime, that it was the most serious mistake an executive can make, to fail to recognize and appreciate talent and professionalism.

His qualities were appreciated by the men who worked with him; the funeral at Warren represented something of a Who's Who of Vietnam reporters. But he never made it with his employers. The story of how *Time* magazine lashed out at its Vietnam reporters in 1963 is well known, with Charley Mohr resigning, though few remember that the other resignation was Mert's. It is not to denigrate Mohr's resignation, but Perry's was even more painful. Mohr was an established journalistic star when he quit but Perry was an unknown, a drifter, a man without a college degree, a *Time* stringer who sensed he was about to make staff, a job he desperately wanted. After the resignation he went back to America and the late Larry Fanning of the *Chicago Daily News*, one of those rare editors



MERT PERRY

who liked reporters, picked him up. There was talk of an overseas assignment after a few months on the home staff. But it did not come through; there were power shifts, changes in personnel. So finally in 1964 he went back to Asia paying his own way, sure that this was where the story would be (thus he was ahead of most editors who had yet to beef up their coverage; his instincts were better than theirs). He started at the bottom again, this time as a stringer for *Newsweek* in Thailand. About this time the *Chicago Daily News* offered him a job as a roving correspondent in Asia. It was all he had ever wanted. But by that time Fanning had been squeezed out and Mert cabled back that he would not work for any paper that treated Larry Fanning like that. (There was always that quality to him, that edge of honor. One remembers Edward Kennedy on a trip to Vietnam in 1968 coming through a restaurant, sitting down with reporters, Mert saying how much he had liked Robert Kennedy's article in *Look* attacking the war. Edward Kennedy smiling. "Particularly," said Mert, "the part where he admitted his own culpability." A wavering and dimming of the Kennedy smile. Or earlier, drinking with Oz Elliott, the editor of *Newsweek*, at the elegant L'Amiral, all very buddy-buddy as it often is in Saigon, and about the fifth drink Mert looking over at Elliott and saying, almost belligerently, well Oz, what are you going to do tomorrow? Go down to the Embassy and get a briefing? And Elliott, who was indeed supposed to spend the day getting briefed, to his credit spent the day trudging through the countryside with Mert.)

He had started as a stringer with *Newsweek* but the war expanded and they made him staff and for four years he anchored the bureau; fresh men came in and out, but Mert was to a large degree the institutional memory of the office. He was brave going in the field, and wise making his judgments in the office. There was always a contagious quality to his particular honor and integrity; you sought his good opinion as if it were a mirror of you. Martin, his bureau chief, was sure that his honor affected the others in the bureau; they knew Mert, and his standards, and his rough honesty, and they wanted his approval. Much of

the credit that *Newsweek* received for its coverage of the war (and it received a good deal, it won awards, it became a hot book) was the result of Mert's intelligence and integrity, though the end result of the coverage was not as good as it should have been; the field was always more pessimistic than the product, for the product reflected not just the doubts of the men in the field, but the optimism of Washington, the officials and those who covered them. It would be nice to write that because he had been very good on that story, out ahead on it again and again, that finally his ability was recognized and his employers made up for their earlier doubts by rich rewards.

Not so. He never made it there. Part of it was the political problem, the fact that he was a critic when they were not. But this was not in itself the major part; rather I think it was something worse and deeper, something that goes to part of the very problem of the news magazines. I think, and his friends think, and a good many of the people who worked with him at *Newsweek* think, that he was victimized by good old-fashioned snobbery. All papers and magazines have their weaknesses, God knows, but it is a fact in daily journalism that if a man is a good, tough, accurate, relentless reporter, it will show in print, the next day and the day after that, like a batting average if you will. Thus one can be ungainly, unkempt, anti-social and still something of a star. A news magazine is something else. One man's file is meshed with another man's file, and is written by yet a third man. A reporter may talk one thing and file another. Who knows what their batting averages are? X of *Factweekly* is said to be a great reporter. But who knows, who has read him? And so what happens at the news magazines is that sheer talent as a reporter may indeed be a secondary virtue; other factors enter. A person's background, education, social graces become important. How he looks when he represents us. How he plays the game. How well he *talks*.

And thus I think news magazines produce two kinds of men, good reporters and others, indeed more successful there, who star at the thirty dollar lunch, knowing the right names, good on anecdotes, swapping names and anecdotes in Europe for names and anecdotes in Asia. They move well, speak well. And since part of a news magazine man's job overseas is to be something of a travel agent (Mert himself in the early days after dealing with endless *Time* visitors called Vietnam *Time* magazine's Disneyland), a senior executive wants a man in the field who will not embarrass him in front of the ambassador when the three have lunch. About whom the ambassador will speak well. Mert of course was not very good at this, indeed he rebelled at it, he lacked those particular graces of playing the game; he was fat, he said ain't, he was country. There grew thus in *Newsweek's* offices the insidious myth that Mert would not work out well in Washington or New York, that he was all right out there (in that most difficult assignment) but he couldn't make it for *Newsweek* elsewhere. Or as one *Newsweek* executive said, he just likes being out there and getting his fat ass shot at.

The truth was that he loved the story, but he wanted to be recognized as a reporter who could cover other stories as well as Vietnam. He wanted to work, for instance, in Africa. His friends both in and outside *Newsweek* argued for him with the *Newsweek* brass to open up another slot, that he had been there too long, and finally with a certain ill grace it was done. Mert of course was aware of this, that there was doubt and prejudice against him in the organization and he knew that his friends were trying to argue for him, when by any normal rule of the profession there should have been no argument at all; they should have said, What can we do for you? So he was given another slot, Chicago. Africa was what he wanted, but Africa was closed. And then Africa opened up and it went to a younger reporter. But something else overseas would open soon, he was told. And then along the back channels the word was passed to him that he would not go overseas again, that he had lost his political objectivity. And so Mert made a few phone calls and confirmed the essence of the story and quit. Did it in typical style. Just walked out. The same day. Didn't play the game, didn't politic, didn't use *Newsweek* as a springboard for a better job (which annoyed me; I remember arguing with him to play the game, that it would make job hunting easier, that there would be doubt aimed at him for being unemployed, not at *Newsweek* for failing to use him properly. I was foolish of course, because I was expecting him to act out of character. Later I realized I was wrong when I talked with a friend at *Newsweek* who said that Mert had been precipitate, that it all might have worked out if he had waited a bit, let things work themselves out, removed himself from executive editor Robert Christopher's darker list. Then I realized Mert was right; why should he have to play the game after four years in Vietnam, why should he dance for them, why should he have to court their approval?). There was no place for him at *Newsweek* though Bill Bundy would soon become a columnist; Bill Bundy, former Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, the man most responsible for the political estimates of whether or not the war could be won within the allotted resources of the United States. (George Ball is a columnist too; thus one who was right and one who was wrong, what better?)

And so in the last few months of his life Mert Perry was unemployed. About a month before he died of a heart attack, Tom Winship of the *Boston Globe* offered him a good job and he had been cheered by that, but by little else in his profession. He died just as the job was opening up, leaving his friends with the sense of loss of a great and joyous presence, and a lingering bitterness about their profession.

An Adventure in 'the Big Cave'

BY CHARLOTTE CURTIS

The journalistic weakness for reducing complicated controversies to oversimplified struggles between the Good Guys and the Bad Guys has seldom had a better workout than in the Great Harper's Flap. According to the now almost mythologized script, Willie Morris and his talented staff resigned during that fateful week in March because the bright young editor had created the "hottest" publication in America only to be harassed and ultimately knifed by publisher William S. Blair, who, after all, came from wicked Madison Avenue, who constantly meddled in editorial policy and who finally nailed Morris not just for lavishing too much money on his writers but for devoting most of the March issue to Norman Mailer's four-lettered "The Prisoner of Sex." As Morris put it in his bitter aphorism of resignation, "It all boiled down to the money men and the literary men. And, as always, the money men won."

The story may read better that way, but what actually happened was more than somewhat different. More accurately, it is an unhappy tale of an almost willful failure to communicate and often astonishing inexperience—of a confused publisher who had never published a national magazine, of a headstrong editor who had never edited one and, not least, of a well-meaning owner, John Cowles, Jr., who had never owned one. And perhaps saddest of all, it is the story of a brilliant, young Southern writer who felt driven to run with New York's literary pack and lost his way in an alien city he so aptly described as "the Big Cave."

Perhaps the best place to start is in 1968, the year young Cowles succeeded his father as chief of Harper's parent firm, the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company. That was the year Harper's purchased the defunct Reporter magazine's paid-up subscribers and Blair became publisher. Morris had been editor for more than a year. At 33, he was already being hailed as the brightest publishing star in a generation. He was the Yazoo kid, all slicked-down blond hair, pale blue eyes, apple cheeks and bitten fingernails. "Only a family Bible and a grandmother away from Reconstruction," he liked to say.

The New York literary set, used to pomposity in blue jeans and poetry in peasant dresses, found it hard to match the special intellect of Morris's work (particularly his much-praised 1967 autobiographical book, *North Toward Home*) with the shy, disarmingly wide-eyed Southerner in the prim blue suit, white shirt and slim tie.

Yet before long, the former Rhodes Scholar was being described as "a young Turner Catledge," after the politically astute Mississippi-born managing editor of the *Times*. Anyone who cared for details, however, might wonder at the comparison. Catledge was a seasoned political fighter, a meticulous mender of fences and a strategist of the first order. Morris was more the gutsy, crusading writer whose personal stamp, imposed emotionally as well as intellectually on the facts, often turned his work into memorable journalism. Whether as editor of the University of Texas's student newspaper, when he battled the school regents with scorching attacks on the oil interests, or as writer-editor of the muckraking weekly *Texas Observer*, when he infiltrated the John Birch Society, Morris worked through the written word.

Yet the Catledge comparison stood. After all, John Fischer had invited other promising young writer-editors to join him at Harper's in the sixties, dangling the editor's job before them, and Morris, wide-eyed or not, had managed to walk off with the prize. There was never any suggestion that Morris, with Cowles's blessing, actually pushed Fischer out the door in 1967, only that he maneuvered effectively with Cowles, and that it worked. Or so it seemed. From then on, it was assumed that besides being a sort of literary genius, Willie Morris was a shrewd politician, a man with survival power, which he was not.

When Bill Blair arrived at the magazine's 2 Park Avenue headquarters, he had been president of Harper-Atlantic Sales, Inc., the advertising sales company jointly owned by Harper's and its rival, *The Atlantic*. A Scotsman, he came to the United States in 1940 to study economics at Princeton's graduate school. He served with the Canadian Army during World War II. He was vice president and research director of Ogilvy, Benson & Mather, Inc., in 1957 before moving to Harper-Atlantic to establish a research and promotion department. He is considered one of the best research men in New York. Upon his arrival, Blair had his office expensively refurbished and added a bar. There were literary cocktail parties to celebrate each month's closing. He hired an art director and spent what the editors called "lavish sums" on color, layout, binding and promotion.

The new publisher was named president of the magazine. Morris was executive vice president. Blair was, in Cowles's words, "the boss"; Morris was "the number two man." Explains Cowles: "I took great pains to talk with Willie about Bill before he became publisher. I said if Willie thought Blair was wrong or Bill thought Willie was wrong that I was available to decide matters of dispute. I was not putting Bill over Willie and leaving Willie no recourse. Willie could come to me anytime." Morris exercised that option only once—in February of 1971.

"Blair thought he was going to have the predominant influence in running the magazine," Morris says. "He's written a book or something. He thought he was literary. He was disabused in about three weeks. He found he was facing professionals. He shut up. He sure as hell did. He was afraid of us. There were all these proposals, but he never made the decisions. We did."

The "we," of course, were Morris and his editors. Robert Kotlowitz, a former editor of *Show* and a Harper's editor in Fischer days, became managing editor. The two, later joined by Midge Decter, wife of Norman Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary*, ran the editorial department. And there were the contributing editors, none of whom actually edited, but who worked as contract writers: David Halberstam, who quit the *Times* to join Morris; John Corry, also from the *Times*; Larry L. King, the Texas journalist; Marshall Frady, another Southerner, and John Hollander, who was poetry editor.

Some days in 1968 were better than others, and for a while there was at least something of a cease fire. Blair, aware Morris was seriously upset by his impending divorce from Celia, the childhood sweetheart he had married on a trip home from Oxford University, offered Morris a home at his apartment and Morris accepted. He lived with the Blairs for six weeks. Asked repeatedly to explain exactly how Blair harassed him, Morris said such things as, "Blair was always after me about money," or "The editorial budget was cut last year," or "The feeling of joy went out of the magazine," or "Blair wanted to get rid of Kotlowitz and Midge Decter. He didn't think they were any good," or "He wants to get rid of the contributing editors."

Blair doesn't deny repeated discussions and even arguments about money, nor that the editorial budget, like budgets all over New York, was cut in the 1970 recession. But he insists he didn't needle Morris. "He couldn't have," said a staff member who had access to both offices. "They really didn't see each other very much." In late 1970, Blair did propose eliminating either Kotlowitz or Miss Decter's job as an economy measure, but it was never an order and had nothing to do with their talents.

Blair also questioned the necessity of having so many contributing editors on the grounds that they weren't producing enough and because simultaneously the magazine was buying so many freelance articles. Yet Cowles himself set the spending pattern. In 1967, Morris coaxed his friend William Styron into letting Harper's publish 45,000 words of *The Confessions of Nat Turner*. He suggested offering Styron \$7,500. Cowles said \$10,000 would sound better when the word got around. Later, Mailer got \$10,000 for "Armies of the Night," \$10,000 for covering the Democratic National Convention and a record \$12,500 for "The Prisoner of Sex." Rates ran anywhere from \$500 for 3,000 words on up; \$3,500 for 10,000 words wasn't unusual. At the same time, the contributing editors were collecting annual salaries that ranged up to \$20,000 for Corry and Halberstam. Blair particularly criticized the latter, who he claimed produced far less than the six articles his last contract called for. This infuriated Halberstam, who maintained that he should get extra credit for long pieces, such as his profile of Robert S. McNamara (part of a book he is writing on the origins of the Vietnam war).

Occasionally, Blair attacked a specific article openly, but he never interfered. Morris was never ordered to change a word of copy, cut or kill a story, run an article he didn't want, favor an advertiser or pitch a story to circulation. Yet in the late spring of 1969, Morris insisted to King, one of his oldest friends, that Blair was trying to do the writers in. "I said in what way?" King recalls. "He said Blair was critical of the magazine's contents. A general dissatisfaction. Nothing specific. Willie's not a man of specifics. It was always general. They'd been to some meeting. Willie was upset. From then on it was downhill. Willie would periodically tell me about his lack of rapport with Blair. He would say, 'I'm going to quit,' and I'd say, 'No, bite the bullet' and all that. After that, he was always threatening to quit. I didn't take it seriously."

It was at about this time that the "great experiment" began. Blair and Morris went to Glendalough, the Cowles family's Northern Minnesota retreat, for the express purpose of facing the economic realities. Blair, armed with statistics and projections, warned Cowles and his business associates that the magazine was headed for what could become fatal financial difficulties. The question was whether Cowles was willing to underwrite additional losses, and if so to what extent. After a great deal of discussion, Cowles decided to continue to gamble on Morris's style of editing. He not only backed Morris but agreed that Harper's should continue to overspend on both the editorial department and promotion to see if, by the end of 1970, it had substantially changed the various measures of the magazine's acceptability to the public. These measures included newsstand sales, conversion rates, renewal rates, letters to the editor, and a general sense of excitement. It was never the intention that these indicators should change by the end of 1970 to the point where the magazine would become profitable. Instead, the goal was to see whether enough change came about

to cause any hope for the future. The magazine was saved for the time being. The spending spree was on again. Morris was still free to do with the editorial content exactly what he wished.

What he did, and it was a continuation of what he'd been doing all along, was to search out gifted writers for special projects and give his able team of journalists their heads. King says Morris improved his copy 30 to 40 per cent. Halberstam says he was the only editor who ever really understood him. Bill Moyers, whose "Listening to America" ran 45,000 words in the December issue, says Morris constantly fed his ego, made him want to write and then treated the finished copy in a cool, professional way.

As an editor, Morris was a night owl who rarely returned telephone calls and loathed administrative work. It has been strongly suggested that Miss Decter and Kotlowitz did the hard work, but perhaps out of loyalty they deny it. Morris's style was to appear in the office in the afternoon, and then work into the night. His blue suit and short hair soon gave way to turtleneck shirts and shaggy locks. He spent a lot of time along the literary party circuit, drinking heavily and talking with other writers. In the late evenings, he presided over a table at Elaine's, periodically commissioning articles he sometimes forgot he had ever discussed. Some of these articles, including Jack Richardson's clinical report on the whores of his life, were published. Some weren't. According to several writers who were neither contributing editors nor lustrous names like Mailer, Morris often said "Yes" to an idea when in fact he had no intention of publishing their work.

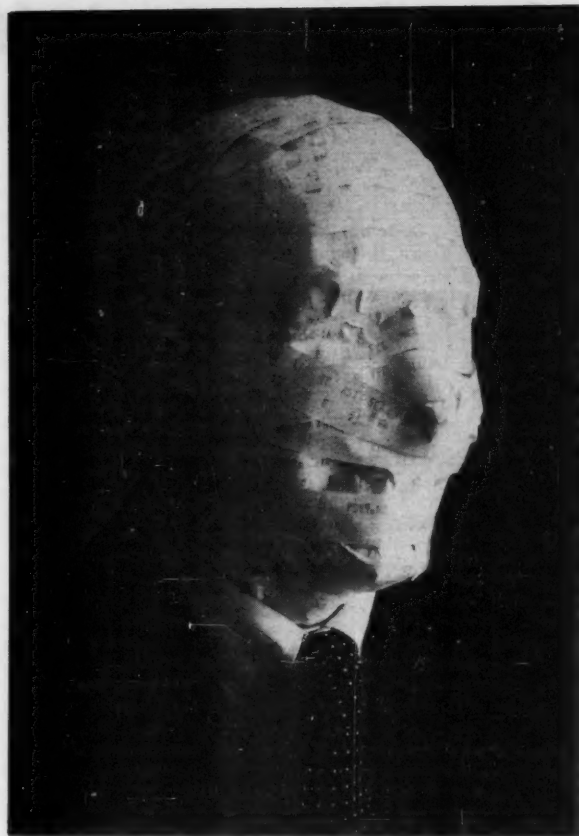
Morris also increasingly irritated his contributing editors. He would, for example, allocate space in an issue for one writer, then deliver it to another. And in general he promised more than he delivered, let problems slide and refused to contend with what he did not want to see. For instance, neither Kotlowitz, Miss Decter nor the contributing editors had any real knowledge of the financial difficulties despite their closeness to Morris. "He couldn't give you a simple 'No'," Halberstam says. "He'd hide, prevaricate—anything so he wouldn't have to say no. He didn't want to hurt anybody's feelings. He hated to give bad news and it made things very complicated." Says another editor: "Willie's response to any of Blair's ideas, whether it had to do with changing the concept of the magazine or the fiscal problems, was to say, 'I'll kill that son of a bitch,' and then do nothing." Blair's way apparently was just as ineffective. "He'd say, 'We've got to do something,'" says the same editor, "and nothing happened. He never suggested anything concrete."

The result of Morris's editing, often the art of accident rather than any serious planning, was a lively, controversial, uneven and at times downright brilliant magazine. But what appeared to be either a team effort or the reflection of the editor's view of the world was in fact dependent for its editorial success not just on the periodic *tours de force* of such luminaries as Styron, Moyers and Mailer, but upon the special interests and performances of the individual contributing editors. Nobody had to write about anything that didn't interest him. That made the writers happy, but inevitably the issue boiled down to the relationship between editorial content and circulation.

Cowles had bought the *Reporter's* subscribers against the time when *Harper's* could produce its own. However, not only did the purchased readers fail to stick (certainly no fault of Morris's), but new readers did not sign up in sufficient numbers. Particularly disappointing was the younger audience. Surveys showed that the bright new magazine, with its "now" covers and its controversial articles, bored its younger readers. Morris's reaction to the first survey that indicated this—a Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co. poll of 200 *Harper's* subscribers in 1967—was to drop it in a drawer and forget it. He was equally unenthusiastic about a more extensive Oliver Quayle study in 1970. When Quayle reported his bearish findings at an administrative meeting that year, Miss Decter considered it a move against the editorial department. She waited for Morris to object. But he remained silent. He has since said that "you can't edit by polls," which is doubtless true; but it is equally true that a magazine can't publish at a continuing loss without eventually coming to grips with the problem.

Morris's refusal to deal with the circulation problems and nearly everything else having to do with the business side lasted until shortly after last January 19. On that date, Blair sent him a confidential memo saying that the overspending experiment had failed. The memo, reminding Morris of the forthcoming quarterly budget meeting in Minneapolis, described the extent of the circulation problems, the rising costs and the future prospects for advertising. The only good sign, Blair wrote, was "the amount of 'talk'—but this appears to be mainly in a limited circle of communicators, mostly in New York and to some extent in other cities." Blair urged some serious thinking about limiting circulation to reduce costs and about cost-cutting in general.

He also suggested the possibility "in theory at least—to convert *Harper's* into a special-interest magazine . . . which reaches a definable group of people in the population, in the same way as *Golf Digest* reaches golfers or *Skiing* reaches skiers. To do so would require an effort of both editorial and promotion. It is not easy to see what kind of definable audience might be *Harper's* specialty; the only possibility that comes to mind is to recall the fact that traditionally our appeal has always been very high to people who are active



WHO IS THE NEXT EDITOR OF *HARPER'S*?

in civic and political affairs. Possibly *Harper's* could be made into the magazine of the activists and sold on this basis to a range of advertisers—particularly those with corporate messages. To do so would require a conscious and deliberate shift in editorial policy so that we had more articles dealing with political process at all levels and less dealing with personal relationships." Later, Morris would use "Eastern communicators" and "He wanted to turn it into ski magazine" when he described his "fight" with Blair to the press. Morris would also ignore this passage from Blair's memo: "I don't think there is much point at this time in trying to allocate blame or responsibility for what has happened. We all share in the responsibility, and in addition we were hit by a disastrous economic period . . ."

In any event, Blair's memo went unanswered and another month passed. On February 11, Blair sent Morris another memo, this one outlining the necessity for severe cutbacks throughout the magazine. He proposed to cut out virtually all promotion expenses, let the assistant publisher go and sublet half the office space. He asked for drastic changes in the contributing editor set-up and the elimination of some secretaries. And it was here that he suggested "it should be possible to get this magazine out with one Editor-in-Chief (yourself), one responsible senior editor (either Midge or Bob) and one junior editor." On February 17, Morris replied. His memo agreed to some of the reductions, stood up for the money paid the contributing editors and their productivity, defended the editorial quality of the magazine, proposed that as an economy measure his salary of \$37,500 and Blair's of \$54,000 be reduced by a third and appealed to Cowles' sense of obligation to keep up the traditions of the magazine.

On Monday, February 27, two days before the now-famous budget meeting in Minneapolis, Morris called Cowles to tell him he wanted to talk and that he was arriving that night. Cowles didn't get the call, but his secretary, who said Morris called from the airport, took the message. Cowles waited for him to appear. Monday night came and went without word from Morris, and so did Tuesday morning. Cowles kept Tuesday lunch open for him, but he didn't show. Then, at about 2:00 p.m. Tuesday, Morris arrived—shortly before a regularly scheduled *Star* and *Tribune* staff meeting. The owner gave the editor just 15 minutes in which to talk. Morris handed Cowles the memo he had written Blair, and Cowles promised to read it and think about it. Cowles invited Morris to join

him at the staff meeting. Morris said he would, but left and did not reappear either Tuesday afternoon or evening. But he was there at 9:00 a.m. on Wednesday, when the budget meeting began.

The meeting, like previous ones including the "experiment" launching, dealt strictly with money. Morris says he was "hit with a 21-page memo," which is true. It was Blair's working paper, incorporating the substance of his previous memos to Morris as well as criticism of the editorial performance as it related to circulation and his suggestions for cost-cutting in all departments. Blair called it his "game plan" for saving the magazine. Cowles asked Morris whether he had any alternatives to propose. Morris said no, but objected to suggested cuts in the editorial budget. Decisions on editorial matters were postponed. The rest of Blair's proposals, involving a six-month budget, were accepted. "It was terrible," Morris recalls. "One of those zombies spoke up and said, 'No wonder it's such a failure. Who are you editing this magazine for. A bunch of hippies?' Then the Mailer thing. Nobody liked it." Cowles remembers it somewhat differently. "One of our Minneapolis men may indeed have kidded or needed Willie about the Mailer piece but it was not a formal part of the meeting. As a matter of policy, I'd not have regarded that a proper part of the meeting. If Bill and I had thoughts about editing, we'd have taken that up with Willie privately."

Morris was the only editorial person at the meeting. He views the entire three and a half hours as an attack on editorial content. He says, "It was more a mood than anything else. The atmosphere was very, very cold. They were extremely hostile to the magazine. It brought it all to a head for me. I felt the game was up. I didn't want to work with those people. To have followed Blair's plan would have involved acts of humiliation. The literary qualities were severely threatened. They decided to go on with the poll-taking. I didn't think the magazine had much future."

When the meeting ended, Morris begged off a previously arranged lunch with Cowles, Blair and some *Star* and *Tribune* news executives. On the plane back to New York, he decided to quit.

The following Monday he told Kotlowitz and Miss Decker his plan and showed them his letter of resignation. He had resigned for them, too. They tried to persuade him to reconsider, suggesting they work together until summer and then, if the situation hadn't improved, resign together. Morris refused, but removed their names from his letter. "I came into the office that Monday and Midge and Bob were sitting there looking as if their dog had died," recalls Larry King. "They told me what happened. Then Willie walked in and we went to Greenstreet's and he showed me the letter. I said, 'You know this is an irrevocable act,' and he said, 'I don't give a damn.' He handed me Blair's memos to read. The memos alarmed me. I didn't realize Blair was going so strongly against Willie. I asked him to sleep on the letter. He wouldn't." The resignation was typed that afternoon, re-read by King and airmailed special delivery to Cowles that night. On Tuesday afternoon, when King and Morris returned from lunch, Blair's secretary came up to them.

"I'm sorry you're leaving," she said.

Morris looked surprised.

"My God, they've accepted my resignation," he said.

"Didn't you think they would?" asked King.

"No," said Morris, and left the building.

What Morris failed to explain to almost anybody was that on Monday afternoon, after lunching with King, Blair came to his office to work out alternatives to the editorial budget proposals and decide whether Miss Decker or Kotlowitz was to be fired. "I was very angry," Morris says. "I told him here you are making \$60,000 a year and for that we could have all the editors. I told him I was going to resign." And so Blair, armed with Morris's plans and still uncertain just what Cowles would do or how his own job might be affected, put in a call to Cowles. "Bill said Willie had told him he was planning to resign or was going to write me a resignation letter," Cowles recalls. "I said, 'Well, gosh, let's keep everything cool and calm until I see what Willie writes. Maybe he'll change his mind.'" Cowles received the letter on Tuesday. He decided it was "unequivocal." He says he wasn't able to reach Morris, although Morris's secretary says Cowles didn't call or leave a message all that day. Instead, he called Blair and read him the letter. It was only then that Blair, who'd obviously confided in his secretary, realized the resignation had been accepted. They then talked about how to announce it. Cowles wanted a letter "that would do the least harm to Willie." He might also have added the magazine. He and Blair worked on a statement. "I tried to pay tribute to Willie without being dishonest and without being critical," he says.

By this time, everybody at *Harper's* was in an uproar. The editors were furious with Blair for spreading the news of the resignation before it was confirmed. They were equally angry with Cowles for failing to reach Morris. Nor did it help matters when Blair airily announced: "John's on jury duty this week and that's why he's been unable to call." And they were unhappy with Morris because he acted unilaterally without consulting them. On Wednesday, King insisted Blair persuade Cowles to call Morris, which he finally did. But when the

Cowles call came, Morris was nowhere to be found. King arranged for Cowles to call again, and the two finally talked. The conversation lasted for perhaps 20 minutes, with Morris expressing surprise that his resignation had been accepted and Cowles saying he felt he'd been left no alternative. Cowles asked if he'd seen the draft of his and Blair's statement. Morris said he had, and that it disturbed him. He thought people might think he was fired. Cowles suggested he work with James C. Crimmins, the associate publisher, on a new statement, and call him back when he finished.

Morris says he asked Cowles if he would sell the magazine, that Cowles was surprised and said he'd have to think about it, and that he eventually did call back and say no. Cowles confirms that Morris asked to buy the magazine, says his first response was "Well, I'll consider anything," and then adds, "But I said no." He denies there was a second call. Morris, who was having a dinner party that night, went away from the telephone telling friends, "That son of a bitch wanted to get rid of me." King, Moyers, Halberstam and Bill Bradley, the New York Knicks star, were among the guests, and so was Mailer. At Morris's urging King told everyone what had happened. The party ended in the early morning with a broken chair. On Thursday, when Cowles didn't hear from Morris about the resignation release, he called Morris at home and at the magazine. He says he couldn't reach him. So, as he put it, "we finally let fly with our press release." Morris countered with his statement, indicating "severe disagreements with the business management over the purpose, the existence and the survival of *Harper's Magazine* as a vital institution in American life."

When the *Times* asked Blair about the resignation, he said that it was "all a surprise to me," but that *Harper's* circulation was down 25,000 copies a month to a total of 300,000 copies. The figures were incorrect. The total, and it's public information, should have been 325,000 copies. Blair now denies ever having given out the original figures, but they ran that way in succeeding stories throughout most of the press. Nor did Blair call the *Times* to change them. The editors and even some *Harper's* business people think Blair gave out the lower figures on purpose. They tended to make Morris's editorial performance more dismal than it actually was. He later sent the correct figures to advertisers.

In Minneapolis, Cowles denied the magazine's content was a factor in the dispute, said he hadn't finished Mailer's "Prisoner of Sex," but that he thought it was "superb so far." If he ever did criticize the piece, it was to intimates who are not telling. The question then was what the editors would do. Miss Decker was the first to resign. She has never given any explanation other than, "I owed Willie a debt and he collected it. It had nothing to do with love of the literary over the money." By the following Sunday, the other six editors, announcing they would act as a unit, had succeeded in getting Cowles to agree to a meeting. Morris was still telling people his resignation might not be accepted. By this time, Blair was saying that an editor should be "held responsible for the economic consequences of what he does."

The denouement by now is well known. Cowles met with the editors. He accepted the responsibility for Morris's performance as editor and the disappointing circulation and financial performances, chided "some editors" for acting as if he should subsidize *Harper's* regardless of its losses and for not making the magazine sufficiently interesting to enough readers to pay its way, and ended by asking them to work for Blair. Their response was hardly enthusiastic. Yet instead of refusing to work for Blair or demanding Morris's reinstatement, they asked that Kotlowitz be named editor and Cowles turned them down. Said Halberstam, "It was as though we were talking in English and Cowles was listening in Chinese." Within 24 hours, the editors had resigned.

In the weeks since, a score or more names have figured in the speculation over who *Harper's* new editor will be, among them Lewis Lapham, the only contributing editor who did not resign; Otto Friedrich, the last managing editor of *The Saturday Evening Post*; Irving Louis Horowitz, editor of *Trans-Action*; Bill Moyers, who was publisher of *Newsday* just before taking his wandering assignment from Morris, and columnists Tom Wicker and Anthony Lewis of the *Times*. As of this writing, no decision has been made. But whoever takes the job clearly will preside over a much different magazine. On April 22, John Fischer, who has returned to running *Harper's* until a new editor is found, warned in a memo that "a drastic and prompt change in editorial direction is necessary if the magazine is to survive. *Harper's* must not be identified in the minds of potential readers as a 'literary' magazine. No literary magazine has existed during my lifetime either in this country or in England without a continuing subsidy. *Harper's* has no source of permanent subsidy; it soon must return to paying its own way, as it has in the past." To do this, Fischer wrote, "we shall have to devote less space to books, writers, fiction, and literary criticism [and] a higher proportion ... to science, medicine, business, the changing cultural scene and all other aspects of American life." What *Harper's* needs most, writes Fischer, is articles about the future. "We don't need pieces about dead people. We don't need criticism of Henry James, or Proust, or William Dean Howells. We don't need articles about defeated politicians. We don't need nostalgic reminiscences of childhood. We need material about people who are on the way up, not on the way down."

Battling the Myths in Chicago

BY RON DORFMAN

Editor's note: From time to time, we plan to publish articles from journalism reviews elsewhere in the country. In the one that follows, Ron Dorfman, editor of the *Chicago Journalism Review*, reports on a phenomenon he feels "signals an impending change in American journalism...." We reprint it (from the May issue) in the hope that it will stimulate the staffs of New York's news-gathering organizations to ponder their role in the 1972 elections.

It must be difficult for non-journalists who have lived through the past decade of escalating dissent to understand why it is a political act of some significance, requiring courage, for a newspaperman to sign his name to a piece of paper endorsing a candidate for public office. And why even a relatively enlightened newspaper management might consider such an act a major transgression.

That very nearly all of the reporters and editors of the *Chicago Sun-Times* and *Chicago Daily News* supported the candidacy of Richard E. Friedman against Mayor Daley should come as a surprise to no sophisticated observer; working newsmen have historically been sympathetic to liberals while their bosses endorsed conservatives. (In 1936, the editorial page staff of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* refused to write the editorial Joseph Pulitzer Jr. had ordered endorsing Alf Landon, and Fitzpatrick refused to draw the cartoon. The publisher hired outsiders for the job.) But that they should publicly express their choice, and engage in a public controversy with management over their right to do so, signals an impending change in the ideology of American journalism, in the way newsmen think about their job and therefore in the way the public thinks about the news media, and the news. The event could have been more significant only if it had taken place at the *New York Times*, the standard-bearer of American journalism.

The event itself unfolded with the predictability of a play adapted from the morgue clippings of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. It had been widely assumed that the two newspapers, both owned by Marshall Field V, would once more endorse Daley for re-election. In anticipation of that, groups of reporters at each paper circulated petitions, addressed to Field, stating that endorsing Daley would be "inconsistent" with the stands the papers had taken over the years on a wide range of urban issues, and asking Field to endorse Friedman. If Field could not bring himself to do that, the petitions said, he should endorse neither candidate. If he insisted on endorsing Daley, he should set aside space on the editorial page for dissenting staff opinion.

Most of the ringleaders doubted Field would accept any of these alternatives, and they began collecting money to buy an ad; indeed, Field's endorsements had already been written when the petitions were being signed and they ran in the *Daily News* March 17 ("We didn't expect them to do it on *St. Patrick's Day*, fer chrissakes," said one *News* staffer) and in the *Sun-Times* March 18. However, Field unexpectedly agreed to meet with staff representatives Monday, March 22, to discuss their petitions.

A strategy session was held Sunday afternoon in Mike Royko's office at the *News*, and it was agreed that, in the separate meetings Field would hold with the two delegations, the staff representatives would take the same tack: ask first for free space on the editorial page, then, when that was refused, for an extended letter-to-the-editor, then for permission to buy space. That was the critical area. Illinois law requires that political advertising carry the names of at least two individuals. The staff people wanted to have their ads signed by two deskmen "on behalf of" members of the newspaper staff. In the event Field would not accept that, the plan was to use only the two names — since the publicity already accorded the controversy on radio and television, and indeed in the newspapers themselves, had already included the relevant numbers, and the appearance of an ad without those numbers would only occasion further publicity. A nice strategy, but alas it was not to be.

Darle Feldmeir, editor of the *Daily News*, had been out of town the previous Friday, when Managing Editor Donald W. Gormley, after consultations in the front office, informally told staffers that the ad could not be signed "Concerned Daily Newsmen and Women" but would have to bear the signatures of everyone it purported to represent, and further, that anyone who signed such an ad would not be permitted to cover politics or be in a "sensitive position" on the newspaper, "for the foreseeable future." That policy had been established at

a Friday meeting attended by editors of the two papers and their boss, Emmett Dedmon, editorial director of the *Sun-Times* and *Daily News*. But Gormley left town late Friday and "unfortunately," he told CJR, "Feldmeir and I just never had a chance to communicate."

Feldmeir was back on Monday, and asked the staff representatives if they wished him to join them in the meeting with Field. "Are you going to represent our position?" one of the staff members asked. When Feldmeir said he couldn't do that, he was told to "wait for an invitation from Marshall." Meanwhile, *Sun-Times* Editor James F. Hoge and a delegation from his staff were meeting with Field, and when the staff people asked if they could sign the ad with two names and a committee, Field said that was agreeable with him and tossed the ball to Hoge. "Absolutely not," Hoge said, and after some perfunctory argument, Field acquiesced. To permit that, Hoge said later, "would not be fair to the readers or to the political community." The staff committee was an ad-hoc affair that would be out of business as soon as the ad was paid for, "and I felt the only way to handle it would be with full attribution without any form of anonymity." This, of course, placed the staff members in a bind. If they wouldn't sign their names, they couldn't place the ad, and if they did sign their names, they couldn't cover the news. ("Not every problem has a solution," Hoge told CJR.) The issue was left unresolved as the *Sun-Times* people left Field's office and the *Daily News* people trooped in.

The conversation proceeded in much the same way, except that when Field agreed to accept the two signatures-cum-committee formula and tossed the ball to Feldmeir, Feldmeir said, "I have no objection." "You should know," Field told Feldmeir, "that the *Sun-Times* has taken a different approach, that there has been a previous policy on this." Feldmeir said he would talk to Hoge about it, and later told CJR: "Jim explained what his approach was and we worked out an understanding, and later met with Field and Dedmon. We agreed that in this instance, we would each pursue our individual policies, since I had already indicated to my people that they could use the committee approach. We then agreed that if the same ad were run in both papers my people would have to conform to the *Sun-Times* policy, and that in all future situations there would be a common policy." (Feldmeir later told some of his staff people he felt they had "conducted themselves with real dignity and responsibility.")

Conferring later Monday, the *Daily News* and *Sun-Times* staff committees agreed they would go their separate ways. The *News'* star urban affairs reporter, Lois Wille, had been working on the text of an ad throughout the week. Fifteen hundred dollars had been collected from the editorial staff and \$90 from other departments on the paper, and an additional \$390 had come in from outside sources. The ad would be signed by assistant City Editor Rob Warden and Copy Editor Myron Beckenstein for the "Concerned Daily Newsmen and Women"—a cloak for 88 members of the paper's news staff, ranging from copyboy to an assistant managing editor, with service from one to 45 years. The group included 85 percent of the dayside city-room staff, the only ones approached. That was the group conservative columnist James J. Kilpatrick referred to when he wrote March 26 of "fledgling pundits, wet with opinions... little inclined to cover the news." That was the group *Daily News* City Hall reporter Jay McMullen—who was not among them—referred to when he introduced a colleague to Police Department PR man Frank Sullivan as "the best-looking broad on the bomb-throwers' petition." That was the group derided by implication in another petition that appeared on the *Daily News* bulletin board favoring Mayor Daley and signed by "The Unconcerned Newsmen"—an apt title embracing six signatures.

The ad as it finally appeared March 26 was an eloquent summary of the collective wisdom of the staff on such questions as housing, health, education, transportation, patronage and bossism. As more than one reader wrote the *Daily News*, it rang a lot truer than the "he kept the trains running on time" tone of the newspaper's own editorial. (Indeed, it is unlikely that many of the editors of the two newspapers much believe in their editorials. Feldmeir told CJR that "I participated in the decision to endorse Daley and I support the editorial," and Hoge said it was "in the best interest of the newspaper for me to refrain from speaking about my own position.") These statements have the ring of what is known in Stalinist bureaucracies as democratic centralism.)

The mood in the *Daily News* city room was jubilant. "It really improved morale," said one of the ringleaders. A former *Daily News* staffer, now a journalism professor wrote that this was "the first time since I left that I wish I were there." It was not quite so *freilich* down the hall at the *Sun-Times*. Folks were downright resentful, in fact. There was a lot of sparring back and forth in the next couple of days," said one of the *Sun-Times* organizers. "At one point,

61 Chicago Sun-Times Staffers Oppose Richard Daley

We think Chicago is ready for democracy. We believe the people of Chicago are able, and eager, to make decisions about their neighborhoods, their schools, the future of their city. We believe groups of concerned citizens should be permitted to flourish and to develop their ability to govern themselves. And if they fail and make mistakes, this is infinitely better than relinquishing the job of government to a tightly controlled machine.

These are very old-fashioned ideas. But our country was founded on them and we think they still have validity, even in this complex world.

For these reasons, we do not believe Richard J. Daley should be mayor of Chicago for another four years.

We have reported and edited the news of Chicago for many years, and have tried conscientiously to give accurate, complete and fair coverage. We shall continue to do this, whatever the outcome of the April 6 mayoral election.

We know that expressing our view on the election is an extraordinary step, and we have not taken it without considerable self-examination and deliberation. We speak now not because we want to abandon our roles as expert and impartial observers, but because of an overwhelming sense of responsibility and a deep commitment to this city.

We don't want to attack Richard J. Daley. He is a man of intense loyalties, with a firm belief in what is right and what is wrong. He rarely, if ever, wavers from the values he formed many years ago. He runs our city in a manner he fervently believes is the only way to avoid chaos and disaster. Through a closely controlled machine, operated by men he can trust implicitly, men selected for their loyalty rather than their ability.

True, the City Council of 50 aldermen is elected by the people. But its powers have been drastically reduced in the past decade — partly through the new system of federal-city relations and partly through deliberate consolidation of powers in the mayor's office.

A shameful record

This system works for constructing expressways and downtown commercial properties, but it doesn't educate children or cure the sick or develop dynamic neighborhoods.

Our schools have a shameful record. Of the 57 high schools, 51 have fallen below the national average in IQ achievement. At some high schools in poor neighborhoods, two students drop out for every one who graduates. The average Chicago eighth-grader is more than a year behind national averages in reading and arithmetic, and in some schools is more than three years behind.

Yet, when there was a chance to elect an extremely able and well-qualified man as president of the School Board, a man receptive to sound new ideas, the mayor said no. Instead, he used his powers of appointment to insure the election of a union official not so well qualified — but someone he could trust.

We do not think it was Warren Beaton's black skin that cost him the School Board presidency, but the fact that he was alien to the clan that runs City Hall.

Four times Daley hammered out teachers' contracts that averted strikes. But the higher salaries he gave the teachers were paid for by cuts in programs to improve the quality of education.

High infant death rate

Health care in Chicago's poor neighborhoods is so bad that the infant death rate equals the rate in Ceylon. Chicago's overall death rate among blacks is higher than that of any other major city.

Yet Mayor Daley stubbornly kept his wife's obstetrician as head of the city's deteriorating Health Department, in the face of strong professional and community opposition. When he finally relented and gave the job to an experienced public health physician he made it clear that the patronage system would continue to control half the jobs in the Health Department, and City Hall would maintain a tight control of new federal health programs operating in the neighborhoods. Community groups, many with expert professional counsel, have systematically been excluded from planning these programs and participating in them.

The people of Chicago are woefully short-changed in parklands. Chicago has 3.16 acres of park and recreation space for every 1,000 citizens, the lowest of any major city except for Washington, D.C.

Yet priceless lakefront parkland has routinely been given away by Mayor Daley's park commissioners for a convention hall and filtration plants that could have replaced obsolete inland factories,

and for highways and parking lots so ill-planned they serve mainly to create more traffic jams.

Critical housing shortage

Chicago's shortage of low- and moderate-cost housing is acute, worse than at any time since the end of World War II. The lack of a decent place to live forces the middle class to run to the suburbs, and breeds rage within the poor who have no place to run.

Yet the mayor stubbornly has refused to take the advice of high-caliber professional planning groups and civic groups like the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council that for years have urged him to co-ordinate and consolidate his inefficient mess of overlapping, duplicating and often conflicting housing and planning agencies.

We have the Chicago Housing Authority, the Chicago Dwelling Assn., the code-enforcement and demolition divisions of the city Building Department, the Department of Urban Renewal and the Department of Planning and Development — with no sound direction to any of them.

The controversy over the failure of the Chicago Housing Authority to build public housing for whites as well as blacks, in white areas as well as black areas, is a planning deficiency that goes back a decade or more. It is only one aspect of the disastrous operations of city housing agencies. Because of the failures of this major branch of city government, Chicago may lose \$88 million in badly needed federal housing aid.

There are many other deficiencies in city government, some that amount to betrayal of the people:

- The failure of Mayor Daley's appointees to enforce the city's own laws prohibiting panic-peddling real estate dealers from destroying racially tense neighborhoods.
- The failure of Mayor Daley's building inspectors and building compliance machinery to enforce housing codes early enough to save aging neighborhoods.
- The failure of Mayor Daley's urban renewal appointees to consult with neighborhood groups, as federal guidelines require. Instead, city bulldozers tear up houses and shops in defiance of the people's hopes and dreams, with no plan for what to do with the torn-up land. It usually lies vacant for many years, bringing in no tax revenues. The only efficient segment of the renewal process is the machinery that pulls down the buildings.

But the city's municipal bonds are sound, and we are told this is more important than health care and good schools and adequate housing. New office buildings rise in the Loop, and we are told to rejoice because one of them will be 100 stories high. A new rapid transit train runs down the median strip of the Kennedy Expressway, and we are told this is proof the city is moving forward — even though no parking lots were built near the stations to provide easy access, and the trains stop several miles short of the industrial complex northwest of the city.

The public always loses

These are the achievements that impress some suburbanites. Daley really knows how to run things, they say. He really knows how to get things done. But of course they don't live here.

And city dwellers ask themselves in anguish: How long can I stay? Do I owe it to my children to move where the schools are better? When is urban renewal going to get my house? And what could I possibly do to stop it?

We don't believe that Mayor Daley's stubbornness in resisting change and his inability to share power are rooted in malevolent intent. We think he really does love this city. We only wish he could realize that community groups — the people of Chicago — have a commitment to the city just as deep, and just as sincere, as his own.

We lament the forces in his maturing years that planted those intense loyalties and equally intense suspicions. We regret that at some point during the past 16 years he didn't learn to open up a little. And we must conclude that, as he nears his 69th birthday, it is unlikely he will change.

Weak arguments for Daley

The people who urge the re-election of Daley present three basic arguments.

First, they say no one is as effective at political control. He has consolidated power and decision-making so adroitly in his own office, they say, that chaos would result if he were defeated.

We agree that democratizing City Hall will not be easy. But it certainly is possible. To argue that democratic government should not be attempted because the results might be messy is a dangerous and un-American concept.

Would it really be so disastrous to demand a day's work for a day's pay from the thousands of political patronage employees? If they refuse, and threaten the "chaos" we are warned about, then they should be fired. Today, certainly they could easily be replaced from among the able jobless men and women lining up every week to collect their unemployment checks.

The cleanup should go all the way to the top, with the replacement of department heads who share Daley's clanish concepts. The city government desperately needs men and women who can work with the communities, and build mutual trust between the people and their government.

Again, we believe these job changes can be accomplished without "chaos."

To prove that chaos is inevitable, the people who urge Daley's re-election continually point to the problems of John Lindsay in New York. We don't think the comparison is valid. In the first place, New York is more than twice as big as Chicago. It is still growing, while Chicago has a relatively stable population. Such a city is far easier to govern than a changing metropolis like New York.

Also, it is likely that Richard E. Friedman, Daley's Republican opponent, knows more about city government than John Lindsay did when he was elected mayor of New York. Friedman's years of studying Chicago's weaknesses as chief of the Better Government Assn. and his impressive service as first assistant Illinois attorney general probably are better preparation for the mayor's chair than Lindsay's service in Washington as a congressman.

Is this efficiency?

Second, his supporters say that despite his flaws in human relations Daley has developed an efficient government.

We wonder if any of the highly competent businessmen who support Daley would like to adopt his "efficient" personnel practices in their own organizations? Would they, for example, set up a standard for hiring based not on ability to do the work, but ability to influence voters? That, essentially, is how the political patronage system operates. Today, the Cook County Democratic Central Committee controls about 15,000 jobs in city, county and state government.

City workers who are not politically sponsored — who hold their jobs because they passed civil service examinations — complain they have to fill in for sponsored co-workers who leave the job at 2 or 3 p.m. or don't show up at all. And supervisors complain that they are forced to fire able employees whose only mistake was not delivering a precinct on election day. Is that an "efficient" system?

There are times the mayor responds and changes the system. Recently, he made some promising changes in the Cook County assessor's office, but only after disclosures by newspapers of years of scandalous underpayment of big real estate developers. The public lost many millions of tax dollars. Is it likely that the mayor, who is supposed to be such a remarkably efficient administrator, knew nothing of these practices?

Either he knew about them and condoned them, or he was totally unfamiliar with the operations of an important branch of government.

Little hope Daley will change

Third, they say this will undoubtedly be Daley's last term, and he will be so eager to leave behind a great city that he will abandon his deep-rooted beliefs, the principles which have guided his career, and suddenly change into a different kind of man.

This argument assumes he will weaken his political organization — the structure he has worked all his adult life to build — in order to improve city government. It assumes he will place trust and responsibility in men and women alien to his Bridgeport clan, and the sons of his clan.

This is a pleasant thought, but rather naive. That isn't the way human nature works. Besides, Daley is convinced he already has built a great city — he tells us so all the time. We see no evidence, neither in what he says nor in what he does, that gives us hope he will change so significantly, and so late in his life.

It is true there will be some risk in electing a new mayor. But in these times, four more years of stubborn basism is a far greater danger.

THIS AD PAID FOR BY: Concerned Sun-Times Newsmen & Women

The undersigned do not wish to express themselves with respect to the above editorial. However, they support the right of newsmen and women to take such a public position.

Jean Adelman
Ray Bendig
Rev. Bennett
Bob Black
Nancy Chalk
Bob Cusack
John Deane
Jerry De Muth
Tom Dillon
Nick Farina
Dennis Fisher

Joe Fong
Estelle Foster
Richard Foster
Fred Frickley
Paul Galloway
Charles J. Goss
Thomas German
Bill Givens
William S. Goodfellow
David Green
Allen Harris

Arthur Hochberg
William Hostetler
Garry Houston
Paul Jackson
Constance Jiles
Nancy Jurek
Warren W. Kellogg
Craig Kagan
Barry Kitzberg
Ray Larsen

Dan's Anders
William Braden
Ray Brennan
Paul Brewer
James Campbell
Jack Dylings
Carole Foy
Thomas M. Gray
Deane Hall
William C. Hank Jr.

Joel Hovaverman
Hugh Hough
Bill Jones
Jack Jordan
Judith Kanter
Patrick Koval
Paul T. McGraw
Tony Monahan
John Adam Marston
Judy Neel

April Olcott
Charles Piper
Louis Popish
Joe Rully
David S. Robinson
Dennis Smith
Bud Talbot Jr.
James J. Wagner
Charles M. Wheeler III
Brewer Woods

Charles J. Lewis
Jim Lince
Bill Macdonald
Michael Minor
Orsony Mitchell
Tom Mullen
Milton Hansen Jr.
Earl Nease
Shelia Norval
Bob Olmstead

F. K. Pless Jr.
Ron Powers
Bob Radford
J. David Reed
Bernard C. Robinson
Al Rully
Ray Rutherford
John C. Savage
Julius Silverman
James W. Singer

Charles M. Smith
Nancy Steiner
John Teas
Sam Washington
Larry Weintraub
David E. Wilford
Richard Wilson
Douglas P. Woodard
Jon Zimach

we told Hoge we would simply go in with the *Daily News* people and have the ad read "on behalf of 174 *Sun-Timers* and *Daily News* staffers." But Hoge said we couldn't do that, that he had the power to block such an ad. "We pointed out to him that the news story we had already carried said 86 staff members, without identifying them, and he said that was different from an ad, there wasn't space in a news story for all the names but they could require that sufficient space be set aside in an ad. It was ridiculous and we were kind of demoralized but then somebody got the idea we could put the ad in the *Tribune*." On Thursday, March 25, the *Tribune* gave tentative approval to the idea. But many staff members felt the ad should appear in the *Sun-Times*. "We needed a united front against Hoge's intimidations," said another of the *Sun-Timers* organizers. "It became a question of solidarity, of scabbing. We needed enough names to effectively deter any retaliation. You know, Hoge deserves a lot of the credit for this. If he hadn't been so heavy-handed about it, the whole thing probably would have fallen through."

Monday night, the 29th, a meeting was held at Riccardo's restaurant, the final go-ahead decision was made, and Tuesday Hoge accepted the ad with 61 names and an additional 30 names of reporters who signed a "chicken sheet," which let some waverers off the hook by allowing them to "support the right of newsmen and women to take such a public position" without taking it themselves. The ad, using the Lois Wille text, was published in the *Sun-Times* April 1, and in the same day's editions, an editorial ran expressing "confidence in the professionalism of all members of our staff." But, the editorial added, "At the same time, we recognize our obligation to assign political coverage in a manner that raises no doubts about its impartiality." Just what that meant was unclear at *CJR* press time. In the *Sun-Times* editions of April 5 and April 6 — the day before and the day of the election — some stories that appeared to require bylines were published without them, and City Editor James Peneff explained that signers of the ad (although not signers of the "chicken sheet") could not have their bylines on campaign stories to which they were assigned; Hoge later dissociated himself from this interpretation of the policy, saying he was not so much concerned with straight news or news features, as with interpretive reporting, and sensitive reporting in general. He implied in an interview that the reason one otherwise deserving reporter was denied a new and "sensitive" assignment was that he had signed the ad.

At *Chicago Today*, which had also endorsed Daley, the editors made space available the following day on the page opposite the editorial page for a

rebuttal signed by 31 staff members, a reprise of last November's action in which the paper endorsed Sen. Ralph T. Smith and the staff was given space for an endorsement of Adlai Stevenson III. *Today*, which is owned by the Tribune Co., provides space on the editorial page daily for the opinions of staff members, in a column called "Sound Off," and has stated to the public that reporters may use the space whether or not their opinion is the same as the editor's or the publisher's, and so the paper could not very easily have objected to the counter-endorsements.

Jim Hoge, the young editor of the *Sun-Times*, is a close friend of Richard Friedman; unless one is willing to impute to him the basest motivations of corporate politics, one must take him at his word that his Draconian reaction to the staff activity reflects a concern for "what is a proper way for a journalist to be heard, and what isn't." He maintained that the "challenge is to keep from making ourselves easy targets so that aggressive journalism can carry more weight." Conjuring the specter of Spiro Agnew, Hoge notes that it would be easy for Daley now to make an issue of the newspaper's coverage of social problems, political scandals, and the like. (The Mayor once accused militant black hecklers of being inspired by the Republicans.) "Endorsements, which are precise political acts, are too easily misunderstood in the general public and in the political community if they are done by the same man who's covering politics. You can't ask people to accept things on faith."

Max McCrohon, managing editor of *Chicago Today*, reports that his staff got no adverse reaction from news sources when they plumped for Adlai Stevenson in November, "and frankly," he says of the editors' discussions of the subject, "we expected none." The editors placed no restrictions on who could sign the counter-endorsement, "although we hoped the political editor wouldn't." (He didn't.) McCrohon, whose Australian background may explain why he is less up-tight on this question than his opposite numbers at the *Field* papers, observes that when a newspaper endorses a candidate it says "this newspaper" and not "this newspaper's publisher. The average reader, given a moment's reflection, would understand that the newspaper staff embraces a variety of opinions."

Hoge objects on the ground that "a metropolitan newspaper is different from a journal of opinion, from other forms of communication. In a metropolitan newspaper you must have the appearance of impartiality as well as the reality. 'Objectivity' — and I don't like that word — is not a problem in this controversy. I'm trying to protect interpretive reporting as well as the straight

Why did seven so-called "dull" reports make some big company presidents so angry? (And get grudging praise from some others)

Why? Because each of The Economic Priorities Reports covered some sensitive area of American business. Like Fair Employment. And Environmental Quality. And Military Production. And Overseas Trade and Investment. The Council on Economic Priorities is not out to hang anybody. It's a nonprofit research group asking questions. Getting facts. Facts that affect you. And making public unbiased, detailed information usually not available anywhere else. What we hope to do is help the people of this country make some very important decisions. Here's what those seven disturbing reports were about:

1. The Economic Priorities Report on Manufacturers of Anti-Personnel Weapons
The Council singled out 105 companies profiting from anti-personnel weapons including Bulova, Baldwin, Honeywell and Reynolds Metal.

2. The Economic Priorities Report on 1970 Annual Meetings: Corporate Policies Challenged
Does it do any good for outvoted groups of stockholders to protest? This report documents major confrontations and their results.

3. The Economic Priorities Report on the Petroleum Industry
"The oil industry is spreading it on a little thick in its anti-pollution and fair employment claims, according to a new study by a nonprofit research group." *Chicago Daily News* (Sept. 1970)

4. The Economic Priorities Report on the Airline Industry
What airline has the fairest employment record and best pollution control record? The Council profiles TWA, Pan Am, American and United.

5. The Economic Priorities Report on Chrysler, Ford and General Motors in South Africa

If a corporation participates in an apartheid economy can it function profitably without supporting the basic social policies of the host government?

6. The Economic Priorities Report on the Paper and Pulp Industry

The paper industry's trade association admitted: "The Report's net effect would be to help speed installation of pollution control equipment."

7. The Economic Priorities Report on the Business of War

The Council listed and ranked (by dollar volume) 523 corporate contractors for the war in Indochina — and gave a complete profile of ten of the biggest.

For any previous reports call (202) 628-3016

Fill out this order form and you will begin receiving The Economic Priorities Report

Economic Priorities Report

1127 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Suite 275, Washington, D.C. 20036

- ☐ Subscribing Member \$20
☐ Sustaining Member \$200
☐ Corporate Member \$350
☐ Full Service Subscription \$3000
☐ I need more information

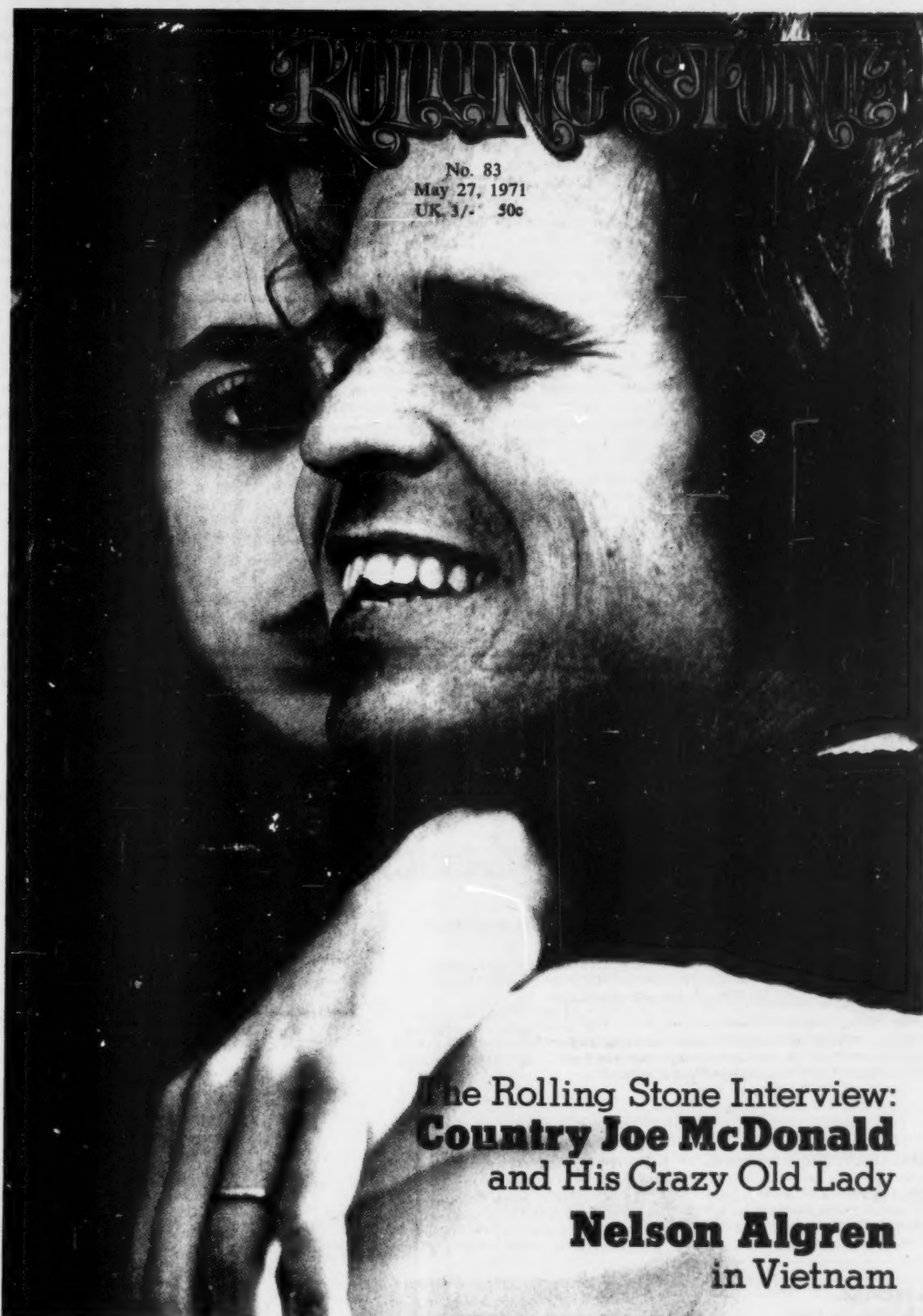
NAME _____
COMPANY _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

The Council is a tax-exempt organization

1-N

ROLLING STONE

No. 83
May 27, 1971
UK 3/- 50c



The Rolling Stone Interview:
Country Joe McDonald
and His Crazy Old Lady
Nelson Algren
in Vietnam

recounting of events. It's the sensitive reporting that's most vulnerable if you don't protect it," if you leave open to question the motive of the reporter who's doing it.

How much can you really accomplish with an editorial endorsement anyway, Hoge wonders. "All you can really do with a newspaper is to change gradually the temper of the public dialogue. When I came to Chicago what I heard was that the public dialogue was structured and reinforced by the *Tribune*. One of the great services of the Field papers has been to widen the range of what can be discussed. It becomes part and parcel of all the little things you put together (to create the conditions for change). To do that we've attempted to build a public awareness that the *Sun-Times* is the paper you can turn to for good reporting, straight reporting, interpretive reporting. But you also have to watch for curve balls, and you have to avoid setting up situations in which you're vulnerable."

As Hoge says, not all problems have solutions. But all problems, sooner or later, in one way or another, are resolved. The problem here is one of the media's own making; Spiro Agnew, it may be said, represents a hoisting of the media on the petard of noninvolvement, part of the mythology created by the media to disguise the subservience of the press to the interests of the moneyed classes and of the State. It is a mythology whose development was coincident with the monopolization of the press. (*Vide* Hoge's notion that "A metropolitan newspaper is different from a journal of opinion," which he explains by citing the obvious fact that most of the people who read such a publication share its general bias; but all that means is that the metropolitan press has been less than candid about what its bias is.) In fact, the news media have been deeply committed, almost always on the side of the powers that be. Our "objective" reporting is like the "objective" scholarship of social scientists who study the powerless on behalf of the powerful, but never the powerful on behalf of the powerless; share-croppers and barrio- and slum-dwellers do not distribute research grants like Carnegie and Rockefeller and Ford, do not employ newsmen like Pulitzer and Sulzberger and Field. And these same "scientists" — read reporters and editors, if you will — convince themselves that their work will

ameliorate the plight of the oppressed ("Comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable") when its only demonstrable effect is to feed the computers that produce new and more sophisticated instruments of social control.

Now Agnew, ignorant peasant lad that he is, has begun to say that the Emperor looks a silly ass going about naked. (Not that Agnew shares the sentiment of the previous paragraph. He has simply mistaken the media's superficial opposition to the war and its abhorrence of himself and his boss for the true ideological bias of the media.) But the Emperor has protested that, indeed, he is wearing regal robes, and his minister, Hoge, says the deception must be continued lest the citizens be misled into thinking Agnew is not himself going bareass. Well, that won't wash, to punish the metaphor.

Some reporters have openly demonstrated their sympathy with the anti-war movement. Others have spoken out in favor of the war effort. Some women reporters have announced their commitment to the women's liberation movement. Others have said they are against it. Now some reporters have gone a step further and openly endorsed a political candidate. None of this is especially revolutionary, except in the sense that more such acts are bound to follow (e.g., when Marshall Field decides next year to endorse Spiro Agnew's boss for re-election) and each makes it more difficult for the profession to perpetuate the nonsensical notion that a reporter is a non-human creature who understands everything and believes nothing. If the public had not been bamboozled in the first place by our own propaganda, there would be no problem and no need for a solution. The resolution of the problem will consist in the disenchantment of all concerned, and a more realistic public understanding of the role of the media.

Jean Schwoebel, diplomatic editor of *Le Monde*, has written that reporters must be "possessed not only of competence and professionalism, not only of talent which facilitates comprehension and carries conviction, but also of a spirit of responsibility, and even more of the courage to battle against myths, prejudices, ignorance . . ."

Especially those we ourselves have engendered.

DEAR F.B.I.

PLEASE INVESTIGATE US

The attention would help our cause. Which is to revive and reform the sleeping Democratic Party. Via a new monthly magazine filled with the best rad-lic writing around: **THE NEW DEMOCRAT**.

SEN. EDWARD KENNEDY: "THE NEW DEMOCRAT can make more Democrats remember why they became Democrats in the first place."

RICHARD GOODWIN: "THE NEW DEMOCRAT can help build a new Democratic Party by uniting all those who believe in progressive change."

Only in **THE NEW DEMOCRAT** could you have read these important articles in the months past—

WHO NEEDS THE DEMOCRATS? / John Kenneth Galbraith
A FOURTH PARTY IN '72? / Symposium: Jack Newfield, Paul O'Dwyer, Frederick Dutton, Ronnie Dugger, and others.
THE MUSKIE PUZZLE / Franklin Pierce
VATICAN II FOR A PARTY / Joseph Califano
HOW THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DISCRIMINATES AGAINST WOMEN / Phyllis Segal
LINDSAY: WHAT NEXT? / Jeff Greenfield

Hurry and investigate us with the subscription blank provided. If you beat Mr. Hoover to the punch, we'll send you our current issue free.

the new democrat

26 Beaver St.
New York, N.Y. 10004

Send me the next 12 monthly issues of *The New Democrat* for \$10.

Name

Address

City, State, Zip

Check enclosed ☐ Bill me ☐

B

Advertising Rates

[MORE] will begin regular monthly publication in September 1971 with the following rates:

SPACE

Full page — 9½" wide by 13" deep (182 agate lines) — \$400.

½ page verticle — 4½" wide by 13" deep (182 agate lines) — \$200.

½ page horizontal — 9½" wide by 6½" deep (91 agate lines) — \$200.

¼ page — 4½" wide by 6½" deep (91 agate lines) — \$100.

Agate line rate: \$1.20 per line.

CLASSIFIED

25 cents per word; minimum 15 words, paid in advance.

Advertising information:

P.O. Box 2971
Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10017

(212) 628-0758

NIXON'S REPORT CARD HAS JUST ARRIVED. DON'T MISS IT.

FOREIGN POLICY

NUMBER 3, SUMMER 1971, \$2.50

- THE STATE OF
NIXON'S WORLD:
- 3 Half Past Nixon
Zbigniew Brzezinski
 - 22 The Political-Military Gap
Earl C. Ravenal
 - 41 Pragmatic Conservatism
in the White House
Pierre Hassner
 - 62 Why Exports Are
Becoming Irrelevant
Lawrence B. Krause
 - 71 The Illusion of Security
Richard J. Barnet
 - 90 Are the Poor Countries
Getting Poorer?
Theodore Caplow
 - 108 Congress: The Virtues
of its Vices
Alton Frye
 - 129 Bengal, Biafra &
the Bigness Bias
Nathaniel H. Leff
 - 140 Vietnam: The System Worked
Leslie H. Gelb
 - 174 Contributors

3

FOREIGN POLICY, America's most exciting new quarterly, evaluates the Nixon Administration's foreign performance in its Summer issue, published June 1. A special feature is "The Nixon Report-card," prepared for us by White House-watcher Zbigniew Brzezinski. Professor Brzezinski grades the President on 12 major subjects, ranging from The Middle East [A—] to Latin America [D].

The Washington Post applauds **FOREIGN POLICY** for its "Critical, accelerated reexamination of American foreign policy goals and means to adapt to a world where US power no longer dominates." Noting the tall, slim format of **FOREIGN POLICY**, the *Post* adds "It can slip into a pocket like a secreted pornographic novel." *The Harvard Crimson* calls our articles "a series of recommendations for immediate policy actions rather than vague speculation about international problems."

FOREIGN POLICY's first two issues have sold out on most newsstands. To get *The Nixon Reportcard* and other new features, fill out the attached coupon below.

Please enter my subscription to FOREIGN POLICY for		FOREIGN POLICY	
114 East 28th Street, New York, New York 10016			
<input type="checkbox"/> TWO YEARS, 8 ISSUES \$17.00	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 YEAR, 4 Issues \$9.00	<input type="checkbox"/> 3 YEARS, 12 Issues \$24.00	
<input type="checkbox"/> Check enclosed \$_____ Please bill <input type="checkbox"/>			
Name _____			
Address _____			
City _____	State _____	Zip _____	M _____

P.O.W.

Continued from page 1

of prison camps, have not permitted International Red Cross inspections, all in violation of the Geneva Convention. Dispassionate analysis would point out that if the Vietnam War is "not international in character," none of this is required by the Geneva Convention. It would also point out that, however weak the North Vietnamese case may be, there is precedent for it. First of all, they are treating American prisoners exactly the way the French treated Algerians in the fifties. (France, though a signatory of the Geneva Convention, ruled Algeria was a province and the Algerians were men in revolt.) Secondly, the Saigon government was treating its prisoners in the same manner until the United States prevailed upon it to change so that charges against North Vietnam could be more reasonably made.

Reading of the Geneva Convention makes all this quite clear. But a reporter doesn't even have to take on that heavy task. All he needs to do is call Richard I. Miller of Harbridge House, Inc., a Boston consulting firm, who has researched the matter for the Department of the Army. Miller published the findings, on which the above is based, last November in the *Boston Bar Journal* and talks easily with reporters. Not many call. None from the New York-based media. "The problem with the press," Miller said recently, "is that it focuses on the most sensational statement made by any side on this matter. With a few exceptions, the reporters don't take the trouble to go below the surface."

I have seen some allusions to torture in stories about POWs. I have talked to several of the nine POWs who have been released by the North Vietnamese and not one of them has recounted any torture. I'm talking of the bamboo-under-the-fingernails or electric-wire-attached-to-the-testicles type of torture which, incidentally, several Vietnam veterans have testified recently, the American and South Vietnamese forces use with regularity. I do get a picture of "subtle inhumanity" through "enforced inactivity," as Air Force Col. Norris M. Overly, a prisoner of nine months at the "Hanoi Hilton," recently described it



to a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee during the National Week of Concern for Prisoners of War—Missing in Action. Overly *did* describe beatings and kickings by civilians after his capture and before imprisonment, but American military authorities generally concede that this is a problem in any land. Civilians are apt to react that way when they get a crack at men who go around bombing their homes. But if Overly's testimony is the best that the Administration can muster to support its barbarism charges, then it is thin, indeed.

And it gets thinner. Article 118 of the convention—and here again I am indebted to Miller—stipulates that "prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities." This provision would seem particularly applicable to the attempt last November to rescue prisoners from the Sontay compound 23 miles from Hanoi. Secretary Laird justified that raid on the grounds that North Vietnam was refusing to honor the convention. The *Times* and *Daily News* simply quoted the Administration claim that Hanoi was violating the Geneva provisions. *Time* did not mention the convention at all in its coverage of Sontay. *Newsweek* reported that Hanoi was refusing to honor the convention and instead branding American prisoners "war criminals." Obviously, when the President says, as he did to the editors, that he will continue American air strikes until Hanoi gives up the prisoners, he is forecasting a violation of the Geneva Convention on his part. The argument gets subtle here, but under the terms of Article 118, he may not require a release of prisoners *before* the cessation of active hostilities, which would certainly include air strikes. Thus, one can read the President's statement as using the prisoners as an excuse for prolonging the war.

I am not dealing in abstractions here. On April 21, the *Associated Press* reported the following from Paris: "The chief spokesman of North Vietnam's delegation at the Paris peace talks said today 'there will be no problem' about rapid repatriation of all American prisoners held by Hanoi after the announcement of a deadline for total withdrawal of all American armed forces from South Vietnam." Now, if the AP was correct in its account and if the North Vietnamese were telling the truth, then Mr. Nixon can get our prisoners back merely by announcing a deadline for withdrawal. We would not even have to wait for the completion of our withdrawal. Yet, the story was not reported in the *Times*, *Time* or *Newsweek*. Now it could be that the story was not used because there was a conflicting *United Press International* version, the lead of which read: "Hanoi's chief spokesman in Paris said today North Vietnam would not discuss the release or exchange of American war prisoners unless President Nixon first announced a firm dateline for full withdrawal of all U.S. forces from South Vietnam." Given a conflict like this, it is the duty of a responsible newspaper or magazine to do its own reporting and resolve the difference, not to ignore the story. Even if the UPI version is correct (which the State Department determined to its satisfaction to be the case), the North Vietnamese are more in accord with Article 118 than Mr. Nixon.

The press also seems to have swallowed whole the Administration line that the North Vietnamese have permitted little or no contact between prisoners and their families. Once again, the facts are somewhat different. Hanoi has established a well-used channel through the Committee of Liaison With Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam. This committee, headed by Cora Weiss and David Dellinger, the anti-war activists, has been instrumental not only in getting mail back and forth but also in securing the most complete list so far of American prisoners held by Hanoi. The Administration heaps derision on the committee most of the time but is not beyond quoting it when convenient. Thus last fall, Secretary Laird used information supplied to the Defense Department by the committee to indicate to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the commando raid on the Sontay prison near Hanoi was necessary because Americans were dying in North Vietnamese prisons. The next day, Mrs. Weiss accused Laird of distorting the information she had given him. It was a classic case of the countercharge never quite catching up with the charge. The Laird statement was front page news in the *Times*. Mrs. Weiss's rebuttal appeared on page 19.

Indeed, the *Times*' canted treatment of the committee began the day it was announced at a news conference in Chicago more than a year ago. Several insiders report that after one of the newspaper's correspondents there filed his story he received several callbacks from the foreign desk, including one from foreign editor James Greenfield himself. The requests were for inserts and clarifications, at least some of them suggested by the aforementioned State Department POW expert Frank Sieverts, to whom the copy was read over the phone. It is of more than passing interest that Greenfield was Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs before joining the *Times* and that Sieverts was one of his aides. At any rate, when the story appeared the next day it had been cut back sharply and played inside. Several weeks later, the committee held another news conference in Chicago at which it released a partial list of American prisoners obtained from Hanoi. The same correspondent covered it and afterwards called the foreign desk to ask whether, in light of his earlier experience, the *Times* wanted him to

file a story. He was told to "let it go" and that the paper would use a wire service short instead. When the correspondent expressed a certain surprise at this, he was told by an assistant foreign editor that "we just don't trust these people."

Despite its own shortcomings in this area, the *Times* does not shrink from pointing out POW flackery indulged in by another medium. Last fall, for example, Jack Gould produced a solid story illustrating how ABC manipulated its half-time coverage of football games in behalf of the President's POW game plan. He reported that the network refused to broadcast a ceremony by the University of Buffalo band during a Buffalo-Holy Cross game in November. The ceremony, titled "America the Beautiful," was directed against the war and pollution, among other topics. The network decided that the show constituted partisan political comment. Yet, ABC did televise the half-time events of the Army-Navy game during which the West Point Corps of Cadets and the Annapolis Midshipmen presented a truckload of petitions to Mrs. Bobby Jean Vinson, national coordinator of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia. That ceremony also featured the introduction of four

I offer the accompanying examination of how the press has covered the prisoner-of-war issue out of the belief that a strong press must be capable of absorbing criticism just as a strong democratic government must. I have written in the same style I would use in criticizing the activities of government. I single out individual organizations only to make points more generally applicable. I hope the reader will understand that, as I maintain a basic respect for the integrity of the governmental institutions I criticize, I maintain the same respect for the institutions taken to task here. In short, I offer my views in good spirit and hope they will be accepted in the same way.

S. H. L.

heroes of the Sontay raid by Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Boone Arledge, president of ABC Sports, said he had reviewed the texts of the statements to be made at half-time and approved them for showing as non-political. "The reason we didn't show the Buffalo half-time was because it was an editorial to get out of Vietnam. The difference today (at the Army-Navy game) is that this had no political viewpoint," Arledge said. "I think it would have been political if they had said that any American who didn't support the recent raid was un-American."

The general acceptance by the press of Administration policy on the prisoner-of-war issue doubtless flows in part from a genuine humanitarian concern for the welfare of those held captive by the North Vietnamese. Even under the best of circumstances, being a prisoner in war time is no fun; like all other Americans, editors and reporters want to see them freed. But the larger issue remains nonetheless: the promulgation of a certainly debatable policy by simply "objectively" reporting what Administration officials say on the subject. And on that point, another speaker at the A.S.N.E. meeting had some penetrating observations. "Objectivity," said Thomas Winship, editor of the *Boston Globe*, "is what we gave cancer-producing cigarettes before the Surgeon General's report. Objectivity let the most unexplained war in history go on without challenge until one and a half million people were killed. Objectivity let industrial wastage almost clobber to death the face of America. Ralph Nader and Rachel Carson blew the whistle, not our great newspapers. That's our definition of objectivity. I say it's spinach and I say the hell with it... We all know why objectivity as a debate is on the A.S.N.E. dance card this year. It's because ever since Agnew yipped at us, many editors have been more 'objective' than ever. I call it a nice, quiet backslide..."

Most significantly, perhaps, Winship pointed out that "objectivity is what we gave Joe McCarthy before a great group of reporters took their gloves off, and before Ed Murrow's TV show." It is now more than two decades since Senator McCarthy made his famous Wheeling, W. Va., speech charging that the State Department was overrun with Communists. That speech did for journalism what the Monitor-Merrimac engagement did for naval warfare. It forced a whole generation of newsmen to think about the methods they used in searching out and presenting the truth. It forced them to think in practical terms about just what truth is. It's a new generation now. And the manner in which the press has covered one of the most important stories of the day—the prisoners-of-war issue—indicates that we've forgotten a lot of the lessons of the McCarthy era.

Time Magazine said we could only reprint 100 words:

"Low-Keyed Muckrakers

no territory is off-limits; it has zeroed in on Congress, lobbyists, governmental agencies, press, labor and management.

Washington Monthly, which offers a unique, pin-nissimo brand of muckraking, has beaten the odds!



AWARD-WINNING JOURNAL
Noticed where it matters.

will receive a George Polk award for an article revealing Army-intelligence surveillance of U.S. civilians

must read at the White House, on Capitol Hill
praise of NBC's John Chancellor, is typical:

It has impact.

people spend a little more time than usual with this one."

well-documented, straightforward, calm—and tough. fellow muckraker I.F. Stone comments: "It's a responsible magazine. doesn't go in for half-assed hysteria."

attention is being paid to the *Monthly*."

TIME, MARCH 29, 1971

Send this coupon for a free copy

The Washington Monthly,
1150 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
Please send my free copy. If I like The Washington Monthly, I'm entitled to receive the eleven remaining issues (twelve in all) for \$10. If I do not, I'll let you know, my subscription will be cancelled, and my money refunded in full. But the free issue is mine to keep in any event.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ payment enclosed

☐ bill me



NJ-11

[HELLBOX]

Continued from page 2

(Would-be reporters will be encouraged to know that starting salaries for journalism were up 7.9% to \$132.39 in 1970, only \$4.73 less than in public relations.)

The *Times* did note (in the twenty-first and twenty-second paragraphs of that first-day story) that the A.N.P.A.'s government relations committee was "contending" that newspapers are protected by First Amendment guarantees from prosecution under the 1968 Civil Rights Act for publishing housing classified ads indicating race or color. More accurately, the A.N.P.A. is legally defending the Silver Hill (Md.) *Courier*, a weekly the Department of Justice charged violated the 1968 act when it ran a classified ad for a furnished apartment in "a white home" and another for an apartment "in a private white home." The A.N.P.A. argues that forcing publishers to screen ads "would impose burdensome requirements upon newspapers and subject them to direct government mandate over content prior to publication." On April 13, Federal District Court in Maryland ruled that the *Courier* did violate the 1968 act. Undaunted,



the A.N.P.A. is appealing.

For this and other "untiring efforts on behalf of the press of the free world," Stanford Smith, general manager of the A.N.P.A. for the last decade, was awarded the officers' cross of the German Order of Merit.

[MORE]

When the Dow Jones News Service held a monopoly on supplying up-to-the-minute news affecting stocks and bonds to brokers, bankers and newspapers, fixed policy required that all handouts be confirmed by the source company before the information went out on the wire. However, three years ago Dow Jones began getting competition from the Reuters-Ultronic Report, and in their eagerness to stay ahead in this journalistic footrace Dow Jones editors began taking occasional chances that would have been unthinkable in the pre-Reuters days.

On March 24, for example, Dow Jones received a call from a man who identified himself as the treasurer of the Selas Corporation of America, a Pennsylvania machinery maker. The caller read a release that announced first quarter profits would jump to 45 cents a share from five cents a share a year earlier and that predicted earnings for the year of \$2.25 a share, up from \$1.05 last year. The Dow Jones editor put this "news" on the wire without verification and within minutes Selas stock rose from 4 7/8 to 23 3/4. So great was the pile-up of buy orders that the American Stock Exchange suspended trading in the stock and asked Selas for more information. Selas replied that neither its treasurer nor any other authorized spokesman had telephoned Dow Jones.

When the news service editor belatedly tried the number left by the caller, he got the family study group at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine.

[MORE]

It becomes clearer every day that satire is on the decline simply because it is impossible to improve on the original. On May 10, for example, the *Times* ran on page one a "rare and wide-ranging interview" that began: "SAIGON, May 9—Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker has just completed his fourth year in America's most crucial diplomatic post, conscious of past mistakes here, proud of the progress, confident of the future but aware of the dangers that lie ahead."

[MORE]

Although much of Daniel P. Moynihan's *Commentary* essay on the Presidency and the press seems at best wrongheaded and at worst petulant (page 5), his final plea that the press establish a systematic method of self-correction is altogether valid. As Moynihan points out, "this practice is ... the great invention of Western science. Ideally, it requires an epistemology which is shared by all respected members of the profession, so that when a mistake is discovered it can be established as a mistake to the satisfaction of the entire professional community. Ideally, also, no discredit is involved: to the contrary, honest mistakes are integral to the process of advancing the field. Journalism will never attain to any such condition. Nevertheless, there is a range of subject matter about which reasonable men can and will agree, and within this range American journalism, even of the higher order, is often seriously wide of the mark."

Traditionally, newspapers, magazines and television stations have been reluctant to run corrections for fear of losing credibility with their readers and viewers. But a system of self-correction, of course, would have just the opposite effect, conceding (to no one's shame) that journalism even at its finest is an inexact art. Equally important, a regular process of correction (at the end of the network news shows, at the beginning of each day's "A" wire, on page two of the *Times* every day) would make reporters and editors far more accountable than they now are and help put an end to much of the sloppy journalism that pervades the press.

By way of setting what we hope will not be too frequent an example, in future issues we will devote this final Hellbox item to correcting our own mistakes.

CONTRIBUTORS

Ed Sorel, whose drawing appears on page one, illustrated *Word People*, which was written by his wife, Nancy Caldwell Sorel.

Stuart H. Loory is a member of the Washington bureau of the *Los Angeles Times* and the author (with David Kraslow) of *The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam*.

J. Anthony Lukas is a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter on the staff of the *Times* Sunday Magazine and the author of the recently published *Don't Shoot—We Are Your Children!*

George E. Reedy, White House press secretary in the Johnson Administration, is the author of *The Twilight of the Presidency*. He is currently a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington.

Paul Cowan is a reporter on the *Village Voice* and the author of *The Making of an Un-American*.

David Halberstam, who recently resigned as a contributing editor of *Harper's*, won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting from Vietnam. His latest book is *Ho*, a study of the North Vietnamese leader.

Charlotte Curtis is women's editor of the *Times* and the author of *First Lady*, a profile of Jacqueline Kennedy's years in the White House.

Ron Dorfman is a former Chicago reporter who now edits the *Chicago Journalism Review*.

Other contributors include: Richard Harbert, composition; Irith Ophir and Beverly Poppell, research; Giancarlo Flores, production.

other point.

He charged that the North
Vietnamese "without question

SUBSCRIBE TO [MORE] AND READ BETWEEN THE LINES*

have been the most barbaric in
the handling of prisoners of any
nation in history."

The President took questions

*Stuart Loory writes about the press coverage of
P.O.W.s in this issue.

Spiro Agnew's monopoly on criticism of the Eastern Media Establishment is over. Now, for the first time, you can subscribe to [MORE], a monthly review devoted to serious (and occasionally not-so-serious) criticism of the press—newspapers, magazines, television, radio, underground and overground.

You pay \$75.00 a year to subscribe to the *New York Times* and \$32.00 a year for the *Wall Street Journal*. Magazines and television cost a lot, too.

At \$7.50 a year, [MORE] is an inexpensive way to find out what these media are really worth. If you take out a Special Charter Subscription, you'll get [MORE].

[MORE] P.O. Box 2971, Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10017

Please enter my subscription to [MORE] at the

- ☐ **Special Charter Subscription Rate,**
2 Years, 24 Issues, \$12.00 (newsstand: \$14.00)
☐ 1 Year, 12 Issues, \$7.50 (newsstand: \$9.00)
☐ 3 Years, 36 Issues, \$19.00 (newsstand: \$27.00)

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

[MORE] P.O. Box 2971, Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10017

Please enter my subscription to [MORE] at the

- ☐ **Special Charter Subscription Rate,**
2 Years, 24 Issues, \$12.00 (newsstand: \$14.00)
☐ 1 Year, 12 Issues, \$7.50 (newsstand: \$9.00)
☐ 3 Years, 36 Issues, \$19.00 (newsstand: \$27.00)

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

[MORE] P.O. Box 2971, Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10017

Please enter my subscription to [MORE] at the

- ☐ **Special Charter Subscription Rate,**
2 Years, 24 Issues, \$12.00 (newsstand: \$14.00)
☐ 1 Year, 12 Issues, \$7.50 (newsstand: \$9.00)
☐ 3 Years, 36 Issues, \$19.00 (newsstand: \$27.00)

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

[MORE] P.O. Box 2971, Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10017

Please enter my subscription to [MORE] at the

- ☐ **Special Charter Subscription Rate,**
2 Years, 24 Issues, \$12.00 (newsstand: \$14.00)
☐ 1 Year, 12 Issues, \$7.50 (newsstand: \$9.00)
☐ 3 Years, 36 Issues, \$19.00 (newsstand: \$27.00)

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

